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15 November 1982

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 361

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15 November 1982

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PARTY'S FOREIGN POLICY OUTLINED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Theory Section, Propaganda Department, Autonomous Regional Party Committee]

[Text] (1) What is our party's basic starting point in handling foreign relations?

Answer: Integration of patriotism and internationalism has always been our starting point in handling foreign relations.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago in the early days after the founding of the nation: "Our general task is: Rally the people of the entire country, seek the support of all our international friends, and strive to build a great socialist nation and to defend international peace and further the cause of human progress." The revolution and construction of the peoples of all nations in the world are mutually supportive, and China's future is linked with that of the world. The victory of China's revolution and construction, inseparable from the struggle and support of the peoples of all nations in the world, is an effective sustenance to the world in its move toward progress and light. We are patriotists, and we will never tolerate any infringement of China's national dignity and national interest. We are internationalists, and we deeply understand that the full realization of China's national interest is inseparable from the overall interest of all mankind.

(2) What is China's consistent principle guiding the development of its relations with the various nations?

Answer: China's consistent principle guiding the development of its relations with the various nations is: "Mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, mutual nonintervention in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence." This five-point principle is applicable to our relations with all nations, including the socialist countries.

(3) On the basis of the five-point principle of peaceful coexistence, with what countries has China established diplomatic relations in the past 33 years?

Answer: In the past 33 years, China, on the basis of the five-point principle of peaceful coexistence, has established diplomatic relations with 125 countries in the world.

There are 28 in Asia: Korea, Mongolia, Japan, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Cyprus, People's Democratic Republic of Yeman, Yeman Arab Republic and Oman.

There are 29 in Europe: Albania, Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, San Marino, Malta, Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Iceland and the Soviet Union.

There are 16 in America: Canada, the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Guyana, Surinam, Brazil, Peru, Chile and Argentina.

There are 45 in Africa: Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, Mali, Senegal, the Upper Volta, Gambia, Republic of Guinea, Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Sierra Leone, Cape Verde, Liberia, Ghana, Togo, Benin, the Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Sao Tome and Principe, the Sudan, the Central African Empire, Chad, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, the Congo, Zaire, Gabon, Zambia, Mozambique, the Comoros, Madagascar, Seychelles, Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

There are 7 in Oceania and the Pacific Islands: Australia, Fiji, Kiribati, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa and Vanuatu.

(4) What are China's current relations with Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union? What is its fundamental stand in handling bilateral relations with them?

Answer: First, in terms of China's relations with Japan, the two countries are near neighbors and their peoples have had a close association and deep friendship since ancient times. In the past 100 years, Japan's militarism time and again launched aggressive wars against China, causing serious disasters to the Chinese people, while the Japanese people were also deeply victimized. With the common effort of the peoples of the two countries, normalization of relations was finally achieved in 1972. Nevertheless, some forces in Japan are attempting to obliterate the historical facts of bloody aggressions and revive Japan's militarism, arousing

the serious vigilance and strong objection of the peoples of China and Japan and other countries. Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future. We must not permit the danger to spread. We must, together with the people of Japan and its government and private figures, eliminate all factors detrimental to the relations between the two countries and enable their peoples to remain friendly with each other through the generations.

Next, in terms of China's relations with the United States, since establishing diplomatic relations in 1979, there were developments compatible with the interest of the two peoples. However, while recognizing the government of the PRC as the only legitimate government of China and the fact that there is only one China and Taiwan is a part of China, the United States passed the "Taiwan Relations Act" in violation of the principles contained in the announcement establishing diplomatic relations, continued to sell weapons to Taiwan and treated Taiwan as an independent political entity. In regard to the acts of the U.S. government, our government declared many times that such acts were infringements of China's sovereignty and intervention in its internal affairs. After close to one year of negotiations, the two governments issued a joint communique not long ago, deciding on step by step measures on the issue of U.S. weapons sale to Taiwan until its final resolution. We hope that the decision will be earnestly carried out. Only by truly following the principle of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity and mutual nonintervention in each other's internal affairs will the relations between the two countries continue to develop soundly.

Thirdly, in terms of China's relations with the Soviet Union, the two countries enjoyed a friendly relationship for a fairly long period of time. However, due to the hegemonist policy followed by the Soviet Union, the relations have deteriorated to the situation today. In the past 2 decades, the Soviet Union has consistently stationed massive forces on the China-Russia and China-Mongolia borders, supported Vietnam in its invasion of Kampuchea, practiced expansionism in Indochina and Southeast Asia, continuously launched provocations on China's border and invaded by force its neighboring country Afghanistan. All these have created grave threats to peace in Asia and the security of China. We note that Soviet leaders have time and again expressed their desire to improve relations with China. As long as the Soviet authorities are truly sincere and take practical steps to eliminate the threats to China's security, it will be possible for the relations between the two countries to move toward normalization.

(5) What are the consistent fundamental standpoint and policy followed by us in the current international conflicts?

Answer: We adhere to an independent foreign policy, and we will never attach ourselves to any superpower or bloc of nations, or capitulate to the pressure of any superpower. China's foreign policy is based on the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and starts

from the basic interest of the Chinese people and the people of the world. It has a long-range and overall strategic basis, and will never accommodate to any momentary exigencies or subject itself to instigation and incitement from any source.

We feel that the main forces imperiling the peaceful coexistence among the nations of the world are imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism. China considers its struggles alongside other Third World nations against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism its sacred internationalist obligation. Though still a Third World country in the course of developing, China will do its best to render aid to other Third World countries which share a common fate with us. We have consistently opposed the arms race of the superpowers and all local aggressive wars instigated or supported by them. We will firmly support the struggles of all nations and peoples under aggression. We strongly censure Israel for its outrageous aggressive acts against the peoples of Palestine and Lebanon and firmly support the struggles of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and build their own country.

(6) What is our party's basic principle in developing relations with the communist parties of the various nations and other worker class political parties?

Answer: In developing relations with the communist parties of the various nations and other worker class political parties, our party, on the basis of Marxism, upholds the principle of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and mutual nonintervention in internal affairs.

Among the communist parties of the various nations in the world, whether large or small, whether with a long or a short history, and whether in power or not in power, there may be no distinction of rank or status, and they must mutually respect one another. Disagreements among them must be gradually solved by means of friendly consultations and mutual patience, in order to further the development of the international communist movement.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED TO STRENGTHEN RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE LAW STRESSED

Shenyang LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF LIAONING UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese No 5, 5 Sep 82 pp 23-26

[Article by Yin Liangpei [1438 5328 1014]: "Great Efforts Needed To Strengthen Research and Development of Administrative Law"]

[Text] Administrative law is the general designation of the legal norms that regulate all the administrative activities of the state's administrative organization. It mainly determines the organization, jurisdiction and formation of the state's administrative organs, the scope of their official duties and methods of rewards and punishments. Its regulations govern the relations that arise between the state's administrative organs in the course of performance of their official duties with other government organs or with social organizations and individual citizens. At present, China has entered a new historical period, and great changes have taken place in our country's political and economic life, it is an objective demand that great efforts should be expended on strengthening the study and development of administrative law and on the gradual perfection of administrative legislation. This is also relevant and of utmost significance for the further development of democracy, for the perfection of the socialist legal system, for the promotion of socialist jurisprudence and for the promotion of the four modernizations.

#### 1. Strengthening the Study and Development of Administrative Law is Demanded by the Need for a Reform in the State Organization and for Higher Work Efficiency

Many countries in the world are presently conducting "administrative reforms," constantly striving to raise work efficiency. Our country is no exception. In December 1981, after the close of the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC, the State Council took prompt steps to reform the government organization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that in a certain sense the reform of the administrative organization is like staging a revolution, but it is a revolution directed against the structure and the system, not against men.<sup>(1)</sup> Why is this revolution being staged? Premier Zhao Ziyang analyzed it in this way: "Our present administrative organization is inflated, its administrative levels overlap, duties are unclear and work efficiency is very low, to an

unbearable degree. If we are to keep to the socialist road and realize the four modernizations, we must stage this revolution. If we do not embark on this revolution, the correct principles and policies of the party will not be fully implemented and it will be impossible to truly overcome the problems of serious bureaucratism and decline in work efficiency. In that case there would be no hope for all our undertakings." (2) Many factors have contributed to the inflation in our administrative structure, the overstaffed situation in all posts and the low work efficiency, and a major factor is the underdeveloped and incomplete state of our administrative law. We have had certain lessons on this problem. From the end of 1953 to the first half of 1954, our country reorganized its administrative structure and reduced the staff at all levels by more than 150,000 persons. (3) The central authorities carried out another reorganization from March to June 1955, further adjusted the administrative structure and the administrative levels within the various units, in most cases reducing the four or five level system to a three or two level system, effected a general reduction or elimination of officials delegated to localities, reduced the intermediary levels between the ministries and the primary level units and thus retrenched a large number of personnel in the state organs. According to statistical data, the reduction in organs directly under the CPC Central Committee amounted to over 43 percent of the original establishment. According to statistics on 51 units of the government system, there was a reduction of 36,270 persons, which is 40.1 percent of the original personnel of 90,498 persons. (4) These two adjustments left the structure of the state organs reduced to a small but capable contingent; their numbers went down but work efficiency went up, and the state, furthermore, saved a large amount of administrative expenses. However, the regrettable part of it is that the various important positive results achieved in the course of these revolutions could not be immediately affirmed in administrative legislation. Even though some administrative regulations were drawn up, they remained a mere formality because of the lack of any mechanism to impose penalties or effect legal supervision. In view of this experience, we must study in our present reorganization not only how to reorganize, but also how to consolidate the positive results of our reorganization by means of administrative legislation. We must not only draw up general well-principled provisions in the constitution and the law on the organization of the State Council concerning the internal organizational relations of the state's administrative organs, but must also formulate correspondingly more concrete legal provisions of administrative law and establish a system of strict inspection and supervision. Any organ or individual that violates the legal provisions must be promptly and severely dealt with according to law. In this respect it is worthwhile to note certain experiences in foreign countries. For instance, in Japan, apart from the constitution, a whole series of administrative laws and regulations were enacted, such as the "Law on the Council of Ministers," "Law Governing the Administrative Organs of the State," "Law Determining the Staff Establishment," "Law on the Office Establishment," "Law Governing Officials of the State," "Law Governing Local Officials," etc, to ensure that the government organs operate with a limited but efficient staff. These laws determine concretely the staff establishment for the various government organs, the office establishment in the administrative structure, the limits of the various competencies, the scope of work for every type of official and

employee, the work procedures, the methods of selection by examination and the system of rewards and punishments. Violations of the administrative laws by any organ, official or staff will all be prosecuted according to law. It is very obvious that this method effectively raises the work efficiency in the government organs.

## 2. Strengthening the Study and Development of Administrative Law is Demanded by the Need to Combat Bureaucratic Privileges and to Guarantee the Democratic Rights of the Citizens

At present, bureaucratism and the usurpation of special privileges is a fairly widespread phenomenon in our country, and even quite serious in certain units and departments. This is not only an impediment to our work, but a direct infringement upon the interests of the masses and has therefore aroused intense resentment among the people. Bureaucratism and unlawful privileges are products of the feudal autocratic system. The basic principle of that system was that the sovereign "did not recognize any common, civil or human rights."<sup>(5)</sup> Due to the especially long existence of a feudal society in our country, it is up to this day that the filth and mire of the old society are still polluting our lives. However, that is only one side of the problem. We still have to look at another aspect. "In our present system of state administration, there are serious flaws and abuses which give rise to the phenomenon of bureaucratism."<sup>(6)</sup> For instance, if the state's administrative organs or its staff, in the course of the performance of their duties, come into contact with individual citizens, there are no concrete and clear legal provisions that determine the legal position of both parties and the rights and duties that each side has. If the state's administrative organs or staff in the course of the performance of their duties infringe upon the rights of others, no methods exist to deal with the situation strictly and effectively. This easily creates a situation of onesided partiality, so that frequently the state employee habitually gives himself the airs of a "representative of the state," willfully issues his commands and gives little thought to the just rights of the citizen and the duties that he himself should fulfill. In Marx's opinion "the customary behavior of persons arrogating to themselves such privileges conflicts with the law."<sup>(7)</sup> The phenomenon of regarding of the powers of office as a customary affair, is eminently responsible for the growth of the bureaucratic and "special privilege" mentality, which jeopardizes the relations between the state and the masses. An important measure to overcome this flaw and abuse is the energetic strengthening of the study and development of administrative law. Lenin once pointed out: "Our country is a state of the workers that carries the malady of bureaucratism," and we must therefore "be adept at using the measures of state power to protect the material and spiritual interests of the whole united proletariat and not allow their interests to be infringed upon by these state powers."<sup>(8)</sup> Strengthening the administrative legislation is precisely this kind of practical and effective measure which the state power of the proletarian dictatorship must adopt. Yugoslavia, for instance, to safeguard the democratic rights of the people, not only drew up a very complete set of administrative laws and regulations, but also instituted a whole system of very strict enforcement. The administrative courts adjudicate independently and government organs must obey and

execute their judgements. By instituting these measures, Yugoslavia not only achieved the prompt rectification of certain improper administrative dispositions by government organs, but also compelled the government organs and their staff to strictly obey the law. As a consequence, bureaucratism was effectively suppressed and unlawful privileges prevented.

### 3. Strengthening the Study and Development of Administrative Law is Demanded by the need to Reform the System of Management of the Economy and to Promote Modernization

Management of the economy is one of the basic functions of the socialist state. In the past 30-odd years, our country's economic management--be it mainly vertical control by the central authorities or horizontal control by local authorities--relied almost exclusively on purely administrative methods, i.e. it used the form of administrative orders as policy directives. This frequently led to equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources, the situation of "all eating from the same pot," and bureaucratic issue of impracticable orders, which all had a serious detrimental influence on the development of the national economy. Although there was an increase in economic legislation following the smashing of the "gang of four," and the use of economic methods and economic laws and regulations was emphasized in the direction and control of the economy, however, socialist economy being mainly a planned economy, the management of the country's economy is not being carried out along one way, but through many different channels. Not only economic measures and economic laws and regulations are needed, but also needed are other measures and other laws and regulations to exercise an adjusting function. For instance, if the state passes down certain plans in the nature of a command and order to reduce or combine certain departments in charge of some special economic field, or if the state unilaterally decides to transfer the managerial authority or property rights of a certain state-run enterprise without compensation or without any equivalent, this is an administrative measure and belongs into the sphere of administrative law to regulate. Certain Hungarian specialists and scholars are of the opinion that a very important reason why certain abnormal phenomena are now arising in the economic management of certain countries is that there is no dialectical and correlated theory and practice established to relate the political, economic, organizational and legal measures used in economic management. The individual factors within an organic and perfect entity can best bring their unique features into full play if they supplement and complement each other, but at present these various measures are usually in conflict with each other.<sup>(9)</sup> There is no doubt that similar problems have to be earnestly studied and resolved in our own country. It is especially necessary to find through the study of administrative law those areas where administrative action must be restrained and where administrative measures must be replaced by other measures. At the same time we must find the areas in which administrative action must be strengthened, we must determine where administrative laws and regulations are needed and strengthen the administrative intercession in order to promote the four modernizations.

### 4. Strengthening of the Study and Development of Administrative Law is Demanded by the Need to Perfect the Socialist Legal System and to Promote our Socialist Jurisprudence

Administrative law as legal norms have existed since long ago. In the history of our country, we may cite the "Zhou Guan" [Offices of the Zhou Dynasty] compiled by Liu Xin toward the end of the Han Dynasty as the first privately compiled code of administrative law, and the "Tang lie dian" [Six Canons of the Tang Dynasty], published under Emperor Xuan Zong of the Tang Dynasty, as a code of administrative law compiled by the state and one which can be traced back to the 7th century A.S. Following the Tang Dynasty, there are the "hui yao" [collected statutes] of the Ming and Qing Dynasties; especially the collected canons of five reign periods of the Qing Dynasty and the "shi li" [collection of cases] of that period are fairly comprehensive, which demonstrates that administrative law was quite well developed in ancient China.

In the West, an administrative law in the modern sense came about in the 17th and 18th century, following the gradual emergence of the bourgeois ideology of freedom and equality and the rise of the "rule by law" doctrine. At that time the bourgeois scholars, such as Locke, Montesquieu and others, put forward the idea that a state should "exercise its rule by means of formally promulgated and fixed laws,"<sup>(10)</sup> and "must not force anyone to do what the law does not force him to do, and must not restrain anyone from doing what the law allows him to do."<sup>(11)</sup> In this way, the freedom and other rights of the citizens are protected by law, and the state organs cannot unrestrainedly impose restraints, unless provided by law. This is what is meant by "government by law," and the laws that provide the state organs with their basis for exercising government are the administrative law.

The socialist society is in essence quite different from the feudal and capitalist society, and the socialist administrative law is in essence diametrically opposed to the feudal and capitalist administrative law. The socialist administrative law strengthens the administrative management of the socialist state and coordinates the mutual relations between the various government organs. It is an indispensable means of protecting the people's democratic rights and a powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people. The famous Soviet legal scholar during the Stalin era, Vyshinskii, once emphatically pointed out: "The Soviet Union's administrative law must occupy a most important place in the Soviet legal system, because the question of administration (management) is of special important significance in the socialist construction."<sup>(12)</sup> In our country socialist administrative law has been gradually developed following the buildup of our socialist legal system. As early as during the stage of the democratic revolution, the liberated area adopted many administrative laws and regulations, and after the liberation of the whole country, work in administrative law was again stepped up. In the middle of the fifties, our legal scholars did some useful exploratory work into the theories of administrative law and achieved certain positive research results in such questions as the target and scope of administrative law, the basic principles of state management, the organizational system of state organs, methods of rewards and punishments for state employees, etc. However, later the influx of nihilist legal ideas stopped all progress in administrative law legislative work and research in this area came to a standstill. Especially the 10 years

of turmoil had disastrous effects on the buildup of our legal system and work on administrative management and dealt a devastating blow to our research into the theory of administrative law. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party and the government made great efforts to bring order out of chaos and with regard to strengthening the buildup of the socialist legal system, adopted a series of measures, published a series of laws and regulations and achieved a certain positive effect. However, generally speaking, the situation is far from perfect, and especially in the research of basic theories of administrative law we are obviously backward. It is therefore necessary to expend great efforts on strengthening the study and development of administrative law and to rapidly develop and enliven our socialist jurisprudence. We should specifically consider adopting the following measures:

First, we must adopt the method of "walking on two legs," namely take in hand the formulation, publication and implementation of new laws and regulations and simultaneously take in hand the adjustment, revision and compilation of existing laws and regulations. It means that guided by the relevant principles laid down in the Constitution and with due regard for objective needs and differing conditions, we should promptly draw up various kinds of separate administrative laws and regulations to regulate various kinds of administrative relations. At the same time, we should systematically adjust, revise and compile all administrative laws and regulations published since the inception of our government. Those that by their content are still suitable should be clearly designated as of continuing effect. Those that are outdated should be ordered abolished. Those that need revision must be revised without fail and again published according to proper legal procedure. After a somewhat lengthy period of time, we shall then be able to amass a large amount of experiences in the adjustment of various intricate administrative relations and as a consequence create the necessary preconditions for the compilation of a uniform code of administrative law.

Second, guided by Marxism, we must actively launch the study and discussion of the basic theories of administrative law. Engels once pointed out: "If a nation wants to stand on the topmost point of science, it must not cease theoretical thinking for even one second."<sup>(13)</sup> Marxist philosophy is best suited for theoretical thinking that reflects the law of development of the objective world. Precisely because this is so, we must take Marxism as our guide, uphold the views and methods of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and energetically launch study and discussion of the basic theories of administrative law, so as to gradually clear up and resolve certain important questions, such as the following: the scientific concept of administrative law, the target and scope of adjustments of administrative law, the basic principles of administrative law, the sources of administrative law, the relationship of administrative law to the other departments of jurisprudence, the position and function of administrative law, the historical development of administrative law, etc.

Third, we must strengthen our work of evaluating administrative law studies in foreign countries and absorb extensively any experiences that are of benefit for our country. In the study and formulation of our administrative

law, we must first of all start out from our own national realities and sum up our own practical experiences in order to meet the needs of our own revolution and construction. However, this does not preclude absorbing, or taking as model, whatever is useful in foreign experiences. In a letter written in 1922 to Kursky at the time of the compilation of the Soviet Russian civil law code, Lenin pointed out "We should definitely absorb whatever there is in West European literature and experiences that will protect the interests of the working people."<sup>(14)</sup> When discussing the 1954 Constitution, Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "The draft constitution of ours is chiefly a summing-up of our experience in revolution and construction, but at the same time it is a synthesis of domestic and international experiences."<sup>(15)</sup> To make a success of the study and development of our country's administrative law, we must seriously step up the work of evaluating the studies of administrative law in foreign countries. We must introduce with a clear purpose in mind certain results of administrative law research abroad and must methodically compare our administrative law with that of the foreign countries, in order to absorb anything that is useful for our country.

Fourth, we must strengthen instruction in administrative law at higher level law colleges and institutes in an effort to nurture highly qualified personnel capable of doing scientific research in administrative law. Generally speaking, a country's level of scientific research in administrative law is determined to a very high degree by the availability of highly qualified personnel capable of doing scientific work in administrative law. The raising of this type of scientific research personnel to full maturity is again determined by the availability of instruction at higher level law colleges and institutes. In our country the higher level law colleges and institutes and the law departments of comprehensive universities for various reasons generally do not have separate courses in administrative law. The problems of administrative law are mostly touched upon conveniently when teaching national law or other law courses. Obviously this is not a good way to improve instruction in administrative law or to raise the level of scientific research, and it is necessary to take vigorous and dependable steps to gradually adjust the course schedule in the higher level law colleges and institutes (including the law departments of comprehensive universities), so that administrative law is made an obligatory or elective course. We must realistically strengthen the instruction and the guidance in scientific research so that we shall be able to train as quickly as possible a large number of highly qualified personnel for scientific work and research in administrative law, and we must energetically promote the study and development of our country's administrative law.

To sum up, regardless whether we examine the situation from the aspect of revolutionary and construction practice or from the aspect of theories on state and law, the strengthening of the study and development of administrative law is a necessary and timely task.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1 and 2. Quoted from Zhao Ziyang's "Report on the Question of Reforming the Structure of the State Council," in RENMIN RIBAO of 9 March 1982.

3. RENMIN RIBAO editorial in its 17 April 1955 issue: "Earnestly Undertake Organizational Adjustment and Retrenchment Work."
4. Ho Long, "Report on the Retrenchment at the First level of the Central Authorities" in GUOWUYUAN GONGBAO [STATE COUNCIL GAZETTE], No 34 (1955).
- 5 and 7. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, pp 541 and 142.
6. "Documents of the Third Session of the Fifth NPC of the PRC," pp 85-86.
8. "Collected Works of Lenin: Vol 32, pp 7-8.
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9808

CSO: 4005/29

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG'S PARTY CADRES RETRAINED IN PARTY AIMS, DISCIPLINE

Harbin FENDOU [Struggle] in Chinese No 8, 10 Aug 82 pp 10-11

[Article: "Several Points of Understanding on Doing a Good Job of Education in Party Spirit, Party Practices, and Party Discipline"]

[Text] Based on the spirit of the Central Committee's and our province committee's directives, a good many localities and units in Heilongjiang have, one after the other, carried out education of party members in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline; launched activities involving the appraisal of party members; and achieved considerable results, having made their initial gropings and having accumulated a certain amount of experience. Summing up this experience has considerable leadership significance for our immersing ourselves, universally throughout the province, in carrying out education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline.

We must heighten understanding, and conscientiously strengthen our leadership.

An important point of the experience gained by various areas in doing a good job of education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline is that leadership must place great importance on this task, take firm charge of it without slackening, and follow through to the end. If we want to gain the serious attention of leadership, the crux is that we must heighten the understanding of our leading comrades. Viewing the situation in various areas, once the education had begun, the leadership of some units had all kinds of vague ideas; some felt that at present there is too much work to do, we are too busy with production, and there is no time to engage in such things; some felt that, since we have only recently been exposed to a rotation training program of studying the "Resolutions" and the reports of comrade Zhao Ziyang, if now we are to undergo more rotation training the comrades will very easily get fed up; and others felt that there are so many problems within the party at present that they cannot be solved by a mere few units engaging in this kind of education. In order to do a good job of the education of party members, the party organizations of some localities and units, through the methods of studying the relevant documents and investigating the ideological situation of party members, first of all solved the problem of the understanding of leading cadres. For example, the party committee of Harbin's Weijian Machine Factory successively held three meetings, they conscientiously studied the Central Committee's and the province committee's documents on the carrying out of

education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline, and came to understand that rectifying party practices is the correct beginning for getting at the root of the party's problems. This affects the survival of our party, and the future and the fate of our enterprise. Only by first reorganizing and consolidating the party, reorganizing and consolidating our enterprises, and completing our production tasks will there be any guarantee of it rectifying party practices. At the same time, they also went through an investigation and analysis of the ideological situation of the party members of the entire factory, and saw that the great majority of the factory's party members were good or comparatively good. However, due to the interference and spoiling of things by the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, many serious problems existed among a good many party members, especially new party members who had entered the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution," with regard to party spirit, party practices, and party discipline. Through this investigation and analysis, the leading comrades recognized that the problems existing in the party are serious, but not unsolvable through reorganization and consolidation. Aside from organizational consolidation, the greater part of the work required is ideological rectification, and the fundamental method of ideological rectification is carrying out education of the broad masses of party members in party nature, party practices, and party discipline. Once the party members' understanding has been heightened, their getting a hold on the matter will be conscious. Hence, the plant's party committee established a leading group for the education of party members, headed by two of the party committee's Assistant Secretaries, which specialized in taking charge of this work. The principal leaders of the party committee personally drew up plans, personally engaged in investigation and research and carried out guidance on a one-to-one basis, solving problems as they arose. Due to the serious attention of the party committee's leadership, and their personal supervision, the leaders of the various basic-level party organizations also took charge in a conscientious and down-to-earth manner, enabling this plant's program of education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline to be launched, step by step, and to achieve remarkable results.

We must get a good grasp of the fundamentals, and do a good job of systematic, ideological education.

In order to engage in education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline, the most important thing is to pay attention to ideological education. In this way, we will have gotten a good hold on what is fundamental. A good many units do it just this way. They organize party members in a systematic study of the "(Revised draft of the) Party Constitution," the "Principles," the "Resolutions," the "Decisions Regarding Serious Criminal Activities Attacking the Economic Sphere," the "Partial Exposition of Lenin and comrade Mao Zedong on the Subject of Opposing the Corruption and Deterioration of Communist Party Members," and relevant speeches of the Central Committee's leaders. At the same time, they systematically engage in party classroom education in accordance with the actual situation of party members. The party committee of the Mudanjiang Textile Plant, aiming specifically at problems generally existing among party members, taught six classes in "Conscientiously Resisting the Corrosive Influence of Capitalist Ideology," "The Firm Conviction That One Should Struggle to the Death for the Cause of Communism," and "Setting

Right the Relationship Between Individual Advantage and the Party's Advantage, and Implanting the Ideology of Serving the People with One's Whole Heart and Mind." The party members universally reported that this kind of study was really what they had been thirsting for, and that the more they studied, the more they enjoyed it. The main results were: 1) They came to understand clearly the importance, complexity, and long-term nature of the struggle against corruption, and strengthen their capacity for resisting the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology is all-pervasive and that one must be exceedingly careful to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and preserve the purity of communism. 2) Theoretically they understood why communism is the most excellent social system in human history and is the inevitable tendency of the development of human society; further strengthen their belief in the certain victory of communism, and felt that the four modernizations are something to work for and that communism is something to strive for. 3. They understood the basic aims of our party, and implanted in themselves the ideology of serving the people with their whole hearts and minds. A Communist Party member must keep four things in mind: he must remember to serve the people with his whole heart and mind his whole life; he must bear firmly in mind whether his position is high or low, he is still the servant of the people; he must remember that in any matter, he must not think of himself first; he must bear firmly in mind that he must constantly pay attention to changing his world view. 4. They acquired an understanding of the party's organizational principles, and strengthened their conception of organizational discipline. Communist Party members must observe the party's discipline at all times and places, and preserve the party's unity and maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee. A good many party members said systematic education is laying a foundation that serves to get at the root of ideological problems, and is a good method for improving the political quality of party members.

Solving ideological problems must be related to actual conditions.

In the course of their education in party nature, party practices, and party discipline, a good many units integrated the actual situation among their party members, and launched programs involving the appraisal of party members. This is a thoroughgoing method of systematic ideological education. In order to integrate the actual situation, the party organization must have a good grasp of this "reality," and the individual party member must also have a clear grasp of his own "reality," since only in that way can one have a clear object in view. The general party branch of Sheng Lang Tree Farm in Yichun Municipality, in order to integrate the actual situation, did a good job of appraising party members, conferred with individual party members, and thereby, got a good grasp of the problems existing within the party generally as well as the principal problems of individual party members. Afterwards, heart-to-heart talks were organized on a broad scale, this created standards against which to measure themselves in appraisals. The general party branch, on the basis of having gained an understanding of party members through conferring with them, and through its heart-to-heart-talks, organized the party members into launching a program of "Three Standards to Measure Oneself Against and Three Things to Examine Oneself For," which are: Measure oneself against the conditions, rights, and duties of party members stipulated in the party constitution, and examine

oneself as to whether one's belief in the realization of the great ideal of communism is steadfast, whether one's belief in the basic aim of serving the people with one's whole heart and mind is firmly implanted, and whether one's implementation of the party's line, programs and policies since the Third Plenum is conscientious; measuring oneself against the time, since joining the party, in which one's spirit was at its best, examine oneself to see whether one's work drive is sufficient or whether one has backslided ideologically; measuring oneself against the advanced accomplishments of outstanding party members, examine oneself to see how far one's own ideology, work, and work practices are from measuring up to them. On the basis of this measuring and examination, they carried out the "five things to compare against and five things to look for," i.e., with respect to carrying out the party's line, programs, and policies, they compared to see who was the most conscientious; with respect to completing the tasks assigned by the party organization, they compared to see who was most outstanding; with respect to implementing the party's laws and regulations and observing party discipline, they compared to see who was most conscientious; with respect to being concerned over the sufferings of the people and planning for the people's advantage, they compared to see who was most outstanding; with respect to struggling against bad tendencies, they compared to see who was most resolute. A good many party members were very much moved by this and said that this program of measuring and appraisal was like cleaning and oiling watches and clocks, enabling us to get rid of our grease and dirt, truly solving the problem of enabling us to enter the party ideologically.

For leading cadres to take the lead in solving their own problems it is necessary to stress major points.

An important point of experience as to how some units were able to strengthen education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline is that they took firm charge of the important issue of leading cadres, solving their own problems first thereby providing a good example for other party members. Though they themselves were the leaders of the educational program, they were also being educated, overcoming the notion that leading cadres are up to standard, they included themselves among those being educated. When the program of measuring and appraisal was first launched at Harbin Municipality's Cake and Confectionary Company, many party members had all kinds of ideological misgivings; some wanted to see whether or not the leaders were able to conscientiously engage in appraising themselves, and whether or not they could welcome others' criticism. Leading cadres at the party committee and branch level, in response to this feeling of the party members, took the lead in appraising themselves. Some leading members of party committees took the lead in examining themselves for having violated the party's principles, using their influence to secure advantages for their children, and arranging jobs for them; some leaders examined themselves for having used their position to secure personal advantage; and other leading comrades also conscientiously examined themselves with regard to their own behavior. The effect of these examples served as a silent appeal. In the entire commune over 470 party members separately, at branch conferences or party group conferences, discussed 1500 problems relating to party nature, party practices, and party discipline. Several party members reported that they had learned a great deal and were moved by this

education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline. Comparing the situation at this commune before and after the education program, there was a great increase in the number of qualified party members, and a clear decrease in the number of unqualified party members. The party members' morale underwent a great change, with the exemplary vanguard role becoming more prominent.

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CSO: 4005/1280

## PARTY AND STATE

### GUANGXI LEADERS ADDRESS MEETING ON STUDYING PARTY DOCUMENTS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by XINHUA correspondent from Nanning, dated 6 October: "Guangxi Strengthens Leadership Over the Study of Documents on the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] The Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Regional Party Committee has completed a survey of cadres and the masses throughout the region in connection with their study of documents on the 12th Party Congress. Following this survey, First Secretary Qiao Xiaoguang [0829 2556 0342], and Secretary Xiao Han [5135 1383] of the provincial party committee, have called for strengthening leadership over the study in the following two ways: First, different methods of guiding different students in different localities must be adopted as a step forward in mobilizing cadres and party members to study harder than ever; second, all students must be advised that their primary task is to study the documents continuously until they come to grips with their very essence of the documents can they implement them in a way that takes into account reality, and carry out policies and tasks set forth by the 12th Party Congress.

At present, the campaign to study documents on the 12th Party Congress is well underway throughout the autonomous region. In the course of leading this study campaign, party organizations at all levels have organized a vast number of cadres and people to pore over the documents conscientiously; they have also held study classes of all kinds aimed at training cadres who will form the backbone of the study and propaganda campaign. Leading cadres at all levels have also volunteered one after another to give lectures on this subject and related instructions. At a meeting recently held by the autonomous regional party committee to examine the study activities in various localities, Qiao Xiaoguang and Xiao Han unanimously pointed out, at present, efforts must be made to further stimulate the enthusiasm of cadres and party members for study.

Different methods must be adopted in response to the needs of different students, for the purpose of helping cadres and party members on all fronts achieve a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress. Office cadres must be encouraged to devote more time than officially scheduled to studying the documents. They must be

encouraged to devote more energy to studying the very essence of the documents. They must be advised to study the documents in conjunction with history, especially the history of the great transformation that has been accomplished since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, which will lead them to realize the great significance of the 12th Party Congress and to become more interested in studying its documents. Greater efforts must be made to help middle-aged and younger cadres study the essence of the documents in conjunction with the history of the party, comrades who know nothing about the history of the party, who are accustomed to categorizing problems in a dogmatic and simple way, and who are even inclined to confuse the positive historical experience with the negative historical experience, reach incorrect conclusions. Efforts must be made to help everyone study the documents in conjunction with the history of the party, especially the two historic transformations during the new democratic revolution and the great transformation that came after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. A review of this history will lead them to understand that as soon as the party corrects its mistakes and proceeds to produce the correct line, principles and policies, it will be able to open a new path for the triumphant development of the revolutionary cause and to make people work harder than ever on all fronts. Qiao Xiaoguang and Xiao Han emphasized that methods aimed at the specific needs of party members in the vast countryside must be adopted in order to help them study the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress successfully. A tour of Jinzhou Prefecture has led Xiao Han to understand that the matters of greatest concern to party members and basic level cadres in the countryside are the question of whether or not the party will change its policies again, what type of nation we are going to build, and whether we can achieve our intended strategic objective and initial prosperity by the end of this century. Methods of interpretation and study easily comprehensible to peasant-party members and welcomed by them must be adopted in order to help them understand such questions.

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CSO: 4005/46

## PARTY AND STATE

### MEASURES TAKEN TO ENHANCE STUDY OF PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Cui Yunjiao [1508 0061 5754]: "Yongnian County Adopts Measures To Promote the Study of Party Congress Documents:"]

[Text] Recently, the Yongnian County CPC Committee has made specific arrangements for cadres and people throughout the county to study the documents on the 12th Party Congress. In connection with such arrangements, it has also devoted attention to the execution of the following three tasks:

First, efforts have been made to form a leading group in order to guide the study of the documents on the 12th Party Congress. Under the leadership of Secretary Chang Huating [1603 5478 0080] and Deputy Secretary Bao Youku [2552 2589 1655] of the county party committee, the propaganda department and the general office of the county party committee, and party committees of county level organizations have formed a joint leading group responsible for the organization of a study campaign in the county.

Second, measures have been taken to organize a propaganda team. The county party committee has issued certificates to more than 210 political reporters, while party organizations at all levels have further defined the duties of propaganda commissioners, party branch teachers and basic level propagandists. The committee has also asked every production brigade to select one or two persons as communicators charged with the receipt and distribution of newspapers, journals, and letters. The communicators must also provide assistance in organizing newspaper reading groups.

Third, propaganda media and facilities have been put to good use. The party school of the county party committee will soon open classes aimed at training instructors who will form the backbone of a propaganda work force while the propaganda advisory stations of various communes and the spare-time party schools of various production brigades are ready to play an active role in organizing study groups composed of cadres and party members. The county has also repaired and restored to good use more than 150 television sets, and overhauled the entire broadcast system, thus creating a condition for cadres and the masses to study and disseminate the documents on the 12th Party Congress through television and radio media. Similar propaganda

measures have also been taken by various radio stations, cultural centers, theatrical troupes, movie film projecting teams, and various commune cultural stations. These propaganda measures have proved instrumental in raising the spirit of the people, and in inspiring them to strive for success in fulfilling the strategic objectives set forth by the 12th Party Congress.

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CSO: 4005/46

## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

STUDY PARTY DOCUMENTS--According to Gansu Ribao, the propaganda department of the Gansu Provincial Party Committee has appointed 236 comrades as reporters of the party in an effort to bring the current campaign to study and disseminate the documents on the 12th Party Congress to a successful conclusion. Among them are principal leading comrades on the provincial party committee and the standing committee of the provincial people's congress and in the provincial people's government, and responsible persons of various provincial level agencies and party committees of the institutions of higher learning. During the last few days, Feng Jixin [7458 4764 2450], first secretary of the provincial party committee; Governor Li Dengying [2621 4098 3467] and Vice Governor Ge Shiyang [5514 1102 5391] of Gansu Province; Guo Hongchao [6753 3163 6389], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee; Li Bin [2621 1755], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee, have briefed the masses on the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress during their visit to various provincial level agencies, the Lanzhou Chemical Company, and other units. Similar propaganda measures have been taken by reporters assigned by other departments. [Text] [Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 1] 9574

CSO: 4005/46

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### SIGNIFICANCE OF CENTRAL MILITARY COUNCIL EXPLAINED

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' Comment

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 31 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhao [3769 6392]: "The Significance of Setting Up the State Central Military Commission"]

[Text] Question: Since the founding of our state, the Military Commission set up by the party Central Committee has led our country's armed forces. Why is it that the revised draft constitution now changes this leadership to that of the Central Military Council set up by the PRC? What is the significance of this provision? Tang Xiaobo [3282 1420 3134], Nanjing

Answer: The provision in the revised draft constitution setting up the State Central Military Council is really one of the major changes in our country's constitutional system. In the past, according to a provision in the 1954 constitution, the chairman of the PRC commanded the country's armed forces, and in the state structure the National Defense Commission was set up with the PRC chairman as its chairman. The Military Commission of the party Central Committee was always the party's leading organ for the armed forces. With the 10 years of turmoil in our country, beginning with the 1975 constitution, the position of PRC chairman was formally abolished, and the system was changed by a provision that the chairman of the CPC Central Committee would command the country's armed forces. On the basis of summing up over 30 years of history and experience, this revised draft constitution has a new provision. This provision contains three principal parts:

1. It defines the leadership system for our country's armed forces, stipulating that the Central Military Council set up by the PRC exercises leadership over the country's armed forces. This is a state organ that exercises special leadership by itself over our country's armed forces, and it changes the provision in the current constitution that gives the chairman of the party Central Committee command of the country's armed forces.
2. It defines the organizations and system of the leadership structure of our country's armed forces. It stipulates the practice by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the chairman-responsibility system, that is to say, among the leadership organizations of our country's armed

forces, the practice of the leading cadre-responsibility system. The chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee has the final say regarding all important decisions made by the Central Military Council. Of course, according to the provision of the revised draft constitution, the Central Military Council is a body that exercises collective command over our country's armed forces. Its work method must be, on the basis of democratic discussion, to have its chairman put together the opinions of the majority of its members or the correct opinions and then to make the final decision. The significance of this is that the working system of the State Military Commission is a system that combines the leading cadre responsibility system with collective leadership.

3. It defines the organizational principles of State Central Military Council. Namely: the chairman of the Central Military Council is elected or recalled by the NPC; based on nominations by the chairman of the Central Military Council, the NPC decides who are to be the other members of the commission. The chairman of the Central Military Council is responsible to the NPC, and when the NPC is not in session, he is responsible to the NPC Standing Committee. The term of office of the chairman of the Central Military Council is 5 years and if reelected he can serve another term, but he cannot serve more than two consecutive terms.

The above-mentioned provision is an enormous change in our country's political system and in its armed forces. The provision is of extremely important significance, as follows:

First, the setting up of the Central Military Council in the state structure brings our country's armed forces into the state system and defines their role in this system. According to a basic principle of Marxism, the armed forces are an important component of the state apparatus. The Chinese PLA is the armed forces of the PRC. The constitution is the fundamental law of the land, and it should contain a clearcut provision about the PLA's nature, organization, and position in the system of the state structure. In the past, our country's constitutions, particularly the 1975 constitution, stipulated that the chairman of the CPC Central Committee commanded the country's armed forces. This stipulation mixed up the party's function and the state's function, and in particular it made ambiguous and vague the position of the leadership mechanism of our country's armed forces within the state apparatus, as if the armed forces were outside the state structure. The revised draft of the constitution changes this imprecise stipulation and further perfects the setup of our country's state structure and its system of leadership over the military forces.

Second, the setting up of the State Central Military Council is advantageous for strengthening the drive for revolutionizing, modernizing, and regularizing the armed forces. The revised draft constitution stipulates that the State Military Council is the commander of our country's armed forces. That is to say, it has the power to make policy concerning and to command our country's armed forces. The State Council and its directly subordinate ministries and commissions are responsible for the building up of the armed forces, such

as work concerning the equipment, establishment, and scientific research in the armed forces.

Third, the State Central Military Council practices the chairman-responsibility system. This system better meets the demands put on our country's armed forces for modernized military operations, and is advantageous for our army, when necessary, to change over swiftly to a wartime leadership system. Thus, it is advantageous for the requirements of our country's security and defense, making it possible for our country's military forces more effectively to deal with any aggressive war that might occur.

Fourth, the setting up by the state of the Central Military Council makes it clear that the armed forces are not outside the state, but are a people's armed forces that obey the state's interests and the leadership of the state organs of power. So, it is more advantageous for close unity between the army and government and between the army and people.

Will the leadership over the country's armed forces exercised by the Central Military Council set up by the state weaken the party's leadership over the armed forces? This worry is unnecessary. The party's leadership is the core of the four basic principles and is also an important principle stipulated by the constitution. The party's leadership, of course, includes its leadership over the armed forces. The stipulations of the revised draft constitution only bestow a state form on the armed forces leadership and avoid the malpractice of not distinguishing between whether it is under the party or state. The position of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee as the organ of military leadership does not change, and each specific system of leading the armed forces does not change. The stipulations of the revised draft constitution can only strengthen the party's leadership over the armed forces and will not weaken this leadership.

#### 'GONGREN RIBAO' Comment

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Fang Ming [2455 2494]: "Question and Answer on the 'Revised Draft Constitution of the PRC'"]

[Text] Question: Why does the revised draft constitution stipulate the setting up of the Central Military Council? What is the important meaning of this?

Answer: The revised draft constitution, in its article "State Organs," sets up the Fourth "Central Military Council." This is an important reform for perfecting our country's state organs, particularly the organ of military command. It has the following important meanings:

First, the setting up of the Central Military Council within the state organs brings our country's armed forces into the state system and defines the position of the armed forces within this system. According to a basic principle of Marxism, the armed forces are an important component of the

state structure. The Chinese PLA is the armed forces of the PRC. The constitution is the fundamental law of the land, and it should clearly stipulate the PLA's nature, organization, and position within the system of state organs. In the past, our country's constitutions, particularly the 1975 constitution, stipulated that the chairman of the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee commanded the country's armed forces. This stipulation mixed up the functions of the party and state, and made ambiguous and vague the position of the leading organs of our country's armed forces within the state organs, as if the armed forces were outside the state apparatus. The revised draft constitution changed this imprecise stipulation and further perfected the setup of our country's state organs and the state's system of leadership over the military forces.

Second, the setting up of the Central Military Council is advantageous for strengthening the drive to revolutionize, modernize, and regularize the armed forces. The revised draft constitution stipulates that the Central Military Council is the commander of our country's armed forces. That is to say, it has the power to make policy for and command our country's armed forces. With regard to building up the armed forces in such aspects as the equipment, establishment, and scientific research work of the units, the State Council and its directly subordinate ministries and commissions have complete responsibility. This division of responsibility is highly advantageous for applying the state's forces to strengthen every part of the armed forces buildup, and thus is advantageous for realizing as fast as possible the revolutionization, modernization, and regularization of the armed forces.

Third, the Central Military Council practices the chairman-responsibility system. This system better meets the demands imposed by modernized military operations on our country's armed forces, and is advantageous for our army, when necessary, to switch to a wartime leadership system. Thus, it is advantageous for the requirements for our country's security and defense, and makes it possible for our country's military forces to cope with the possible occurrence of any war of aggression.

Fourth, the setting up by the state of the Central Military Council clearly shows that the armed forces are not a force outside the state but are the people's armed forces that obey the state's interests and the state organs of power. So, it is more advantageous to effecting close unity between the army and government and between the army and people.

Some comrades worry that the command exercised by the Central Military Council over the country's armed forces will weaken the party's leadership over the armed forces. This worry is unnecessary. The party's leadership is the core of the four basic principles upheld by our people and is also an important principle of the revised draft constitution. Party leadership, of course, includes leadership over the armed forces. The stipulations of the revised draft constitution only bestow a state form on the armed forces leadership and avoids the malpractice of not distinguishing between whether it is under the party or state. The stipulations of the revised draft constitution can only strengthen the party's leadership over the armed forces and will not weaken this leadership.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### PLA GUARDS STRATEGIC ZHONGJIAN ISLAND IN SOUTH SEA

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, Aug 82 p 22

[Article by Hu Baoyu [5170 1405 3768]: "Unsinkable Warship--Zhongjian Island"]

[Text] From a map one can see: the Xisha Islands, like unsinkable warships, form a natural protective screen in the South Sea for the motherland and Zhongjian Island is the warship at this fleet's front. The area of the whole island is less than 2 square kilometers. Here, in midsummer the temperature is sometimes as high as 40 degrees centigrade. The damp sea wind leaves spots of rust on some electroplated metals and many fighters have contacted rheumathritis. On the island there are very few fresh vegetables. In order to resolve this difficulty, the officers and men, besides bringing in fresh vegetables from large islands, have set about planting vegetables themselves in order to make up for this insufficiency.

Life is hard on Zhongjian Island, but the fighters guarding it do not want to leave. Some comrades who are to be rotated time after time entreat their leaders: "Let me stay 1 or 2 years more. I hate to leave this place...." When signalman Hu Aiguo [5170 1947 0948] was about to leave the service, at a farewell meeting he, with tears in his eyes, represented the veteran fighters by exhorting his comrades in arms remaining on the island: "I leave you with an exceptionally heavy responsibility. You must guard and build up this island well! The island is damp, so don't forget to clean your weapons and equipment regularly. When a typhoon comes, don't forget to protect well our small trees and vegetable plots...." Wang Aigong [3769 1947 1562], a radio operator from Beijing, before leaving cleaned his apparatus again and again and watered his saplings time after time....

Why does a tiny island like Zhongjian exert such great fascination on our fighters? The fighters said: "Because we are sentries on the South Sea of the motherland!" That's right, Zhongjian Island occupies an important strategic position. It is no more than a few hours' voyage from Danang and Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, and warships of the big and little hegemonists regularly haunt nearby waters. The fighters guarding the island are highly conscious of the responsibility they bear. They say: "Although Zhongjian Island is small, its strategic position is important. Although life on Zhongjian Island is hard, it is the motherland's territory. The people of the motherland want us to stand sentry here. We definitely cannot let the aggressors set one foot on it and cannot let enemies seize even one handful of sand on the island!"

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### CENTER ON SOUTH SEA REFORMS WARSHIP TRAINING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 7, Jul 82 pp 28-31

[Article by Jiang Binghe [1203 0365 0735] et al: "Warship Training Reform"]

[Text] On the shore of the motherland's South Sea there is what is called a "naval school" for the regularized training of warships--a warship training center.

Not long ago, we went to this training center to gather material for a story. Briefing us, the leading comrade said that in the past there existed this problem in training warship units: the same type of warship was attached to different units, and because the training content, demands, and methods were different it was very difficult to meet the requirements for future coordinated naval operations. The warship training center was set up to solve this problem.

Members of the leading group of the training center, by not being distracted by having to take care of administrative affairs, were able to study wholeheartedly the problems in training, not only personally teaching class but also accompanying ships out to sea, and on discovering problems they promptly solved them. The warships participating in the training were able systematically and completely to carry out training according to the training outline, thereby solving fairly well the problem of "skipped training" and "limited training" that appears frequently in training. The vast majority of professional cadres at the training center have many years of practical experience and are qualified for specialized teaching at their own level. In the training center, there are unified management and centralized use of equipment and materiel, so that not only is the utilization rate raised but the supply of training requirements is guaranteed.

Although the warship training center was set up not long ago, it has already displayed its superiority in concentrating the leaders' energy, the training time, and the technical forces. Submarine 299, which took part in the first training session, took only 10 months' time to complete all the training topics. After returning to its unit, it carried out a long-voyage mission in which it sailed safely for over 3,000 nautical miles, for which

it was commended by the navy's leading organization. Several warships that took part in the second training session, after returning to their units, immediately plunged into a naval exercise and satisfactorily completed their missions. This year, the training center, on the basis of the training reform of the year before last, compiled "Warship Training Standards," which, for training content, time, and method of every topic, stipulated extremely specific, systematic, and complete standards, so that the topics gradually became regularized. Several captains of submarine chasers said with emotion: "We've been ship captains for many years, but this is the first time we have trained according to such a systematic outline and content."

We covered the story and took pictures. Look at those warships with their guns trained high and displaying a majestic, vigorous appearance--aren't they precisely a symbol of how well they are thriving after the warship training reform?!

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Signalman Liang Hetong [2733 0678 5539] of Escort Vessel 529 took individual first place in a test of his speciality.
2. Cadets drill in quickly taking their battle stations on a landing ship, thereby fostering a good combat style.
3. Feng Zanshu [7458 6363 2873], deputy director of the training center, with seamen training at sea looks for new ways to reform training.
4. Submarine chaser tested in mooring water drum training.
5. Communications section chief Yin Ruqing [1438 0320 1987] (third from left) uses warship model to illustrate his teaching graphically.
6. In the leak-plugging test, the electromechanical team of Submarine Chaser 674 moves accurately and quickly, taking collective first place.
7. On a practice voyage at sea, they become familiar with the harbors and anchorages in their sea area.
8. Submarine Chaser 675 drills in attacking submarines by launching depth charges.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LANZHOU UNITS DEVELOP GROUND ARTILLERY RANGE FINDER

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 7, Jul 82 p 40

[Article by Deng Daju [6772 6671 5281] et al: "Ground Artillery Laser Range Finder"]

[Text] A certain technical key task team of the Lanzhou Units, with the assistance of the Laser Research Institute of Shandong Province, has successfully developed a ground artillery laser range finder. It has many uses (besides measuring distance, azimuth, and line of sight, it can be used on the Model 58 steering wheel). It possesses the advantages of being highly accurate (within a range of 100-5,000 meters, its range-finding error does not exceed 2.5 meters and its angle-measuring error does not exceed 2 miles), small in bulk, convenient to operate, and low in manufacturing cost. The Lanzhou units have given it a third class merit award for scientific and technological achievements.

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Full view of the ground artillery laser range finder.
2. Reconnaissance fendui using the laser range finder.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### AIR FORCE REGIMENT CHALKS UP FINE COMBAT, TRAINING RECORD

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, Aug 82 pp 30-33

[Article by Wang Zhewei [3769 0772 0251] et al: "Flight Path--Stretching High Into the Clouds"]

[Text] In the blue sky rises with force a pair of steel wings,

Into the high clouds flashes a fighter's flight path....

In the heroic ranks of the People's Air Force, there is this kind of air regiment: for over 30 years, from liberating the first river, mountain, and island, from taking part in the hydrogen bomb test, and from defending coastal outposts down to being charged with the defense of the national territory, they have outstandingly completed every combat mission, adding glory to the "August First" red star and in 10,000 li of blue sky leaving their flashing flight paths.

Turning over the pages in this regiment's glorious annals, these earth shaking military exploits unfold before our eyes: on 9 January 1966, former dadui commander Li Chunguang [2621 4783 0342] and zhongdui deputy commander Hu Yingfa [5170 5391 3127] bravely and resourcefully waged an aerial dog-fight with a U.S.-made Chiang HV-16 seaplane, fighting from 500 meters above the sea surface to only 20 meters above it, and in the end giving the enemy plane a watery grave; on 13 January 1967, pilot Hu Shougen [5170 1108 2704], in concert with his comrades in arms Chen Guoliang [7115 0948 5328] and Ye Muzuo [5509 2606 0146], flying an airplane with inferior equipment, at one burst blew up a U.S.-made Chiang F-104 new-type plane flying high in the sky; and in 1967, when a spy balloon floated over the northwest part of our country, Sun Jingbo [1327 2529 3134], who was on combat duty, was ordered to attack it and he shot it down at an altitude of over 10,000 meters. Tempered by combat, a dauntless contingent, which "gets moving, strikes accurately, understands tactics, and takes command," has been developed.

In recent years, proceeding from the characteristics of modern air warfare and basing themselves on the equipment at hand, the members of this regiment have repeatedly studied the tactics of confrontation between air forces, so

that the brave and indomitable combat style has been carried on and developed. During an inspection competition held by the air force, in which it set six events in line with the demands of actual warfare, they took three first places, two second places, and three third places. Many young pilots have earnestly read relevant materials, have assiduously studied tactics and techniques, and have become pathbreakers in the vast sky. Ding Laihang [0002 0171 2635], 23 years old and a new pilot, humbly requested instruction from veteran comrades after which he found a new set of firing methods. During a straight-line firing competition, he flew a high speed fighter plane and with 16 out of 30 rounds hit an aerial target 10 meters long and 1.5 meters wide, taking first place in the entire division. Zhongdui commander Chen Xiaoming [7115 2556 2494] is as brave as a bearcat. He practices the excellent technique of minimum altitude flying and, in reconnaissance training often takes the "enemy" by surprise by boring into his underbelly. Dadui deputy commander Long Sanfan [7883 0005 0416], when curve-firing at an aerial target, hit the target with all 30 rounds of shells, taking first place in the air force. Not long ago, a high-level organization tested this regiment in the techniques of minimum altitude attacks with cannons and missiles against fighters and bombers. In the whole regiment 100 percent of the first rounds hit the target and the total results were excellent.

Just when we had finished our news-gathering visit to this regiment, a formation of eight planes roared over the airfield. Looking at this orderly formation with its powerful momentum, our hearts flew with the "fighting eagles" along their flight path high into the clouds.

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. In pairs the planes take off with a roar, the lead plane and the wing plane in close coordination, fully displaying their aerial command superiority.
2. With modernized equipment, the airfield control tower monitors the situation on the takeoff line, landing line, and refueling line, making the flight training orderly and methodical.
3. A young pilot, adept in skills and flexible in tactics, firmly grasps the initiative in the air.
4. In organizing aircraft for tactical patrols in a defense area, each flight crew has an attack and a cover mission, with a clear division of tasks, and the battle formations fly in neat order.
5. Pilot Ding Laihang says: In aerial combat, one must be flexible in tactics and decisive in dealing with situations. When attacking bombers, the other side's firepower is strong and it is difficult to get close to the target. One cannot be hesitant and slow and thus bungle the chance of winning the battle. Below is a recorded photograph of an attack on a bomber.

6. Regimental commander Liao Xiaojiang [1675 2556 3068] says: If you know the enemy and know yourself, you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat. The present techniques employed by foreign air forces in attacking armed helicopters are worthy of our study. A helicopter flies at low altitudes, its speed is slow, its movements are flexible, and it is easy to hide. A fighter plane is just the opposite. This requires that a pilot attack, aim, and hit it fast, making use of his strong points to attack the enemy's weak points. Below is a recorded photograph of an attack on a helicopter.
7. Zhongdui commander Chen Xiaoming says: Modern warfare demands that a pilot be versatile, striking both in the air and at the ground. When firing at the ground, he must lock on his target fast, control his angle accurately, aim and fire steadily, and alter the trajectory of his shells with precision. All of this must be done in an extremely short time. Below is a recorded photograph of an attack on a ground target.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### TRAINING EXERCISE BY ROCKET LAUNCHER BATTALION DESCRIBED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Xu Fangming [6079 2455 2494] et al: "We Praise You Warriors Who Have Mastered the Marvelous Armored Rocket Launcher!"]

[Text] Comrades, perhaps you have seen the documentary film "Rising Up in Counterattack!" In that film you would see the magnificent scene in which flame-spurting rocket projectiles fly toward the enemy hordes, but do you know how our officers and men mastered these marvelous armored rocket launchers? If you still don't understand, please observe a combat-training exercise conducted by a rocket launcher battalion of a certain unit! From it you can see not only the tremendous power of this marvellous armored rocket launcher but also the wholehearted devotion of the officers and men who defend the motherland.

One day before dawn a fine rain was falling hard.

Whoosh! Whoosh! Whoosh! Three red signal flares soared high into the sky at a certain place in Yuhai. Instantly, heavily camouflaged armored rocket launcher vehicles with a rumble headed at full speed for their assigned target. This was the self-propelled rocket launcher battalion of a certain unit attached to a certain tank regiment charged with the combat mission of attacking enemy field defenses. The higher level had ordered them to go within 20 minutes to the rear of Huanggu Mountain, 18 li away, set up an artillery position there, and then carry out preparatory fire in salvos for an attack by tank forces.

The rain fell without letup and visibility was poor. As a precaution against air raids, the battalion drove without lights. In front of them were mountain ridges and the road was rough and uneven. Driving fast in front was the command car of 1st Company commander Zhao Naisong [6392 0035 2646]. With his head sticking out of the car's window, he kept a close watch on the road. Suddenly he could faintly see a black shadow ahead. Company commander Zhao immediately ordered his driver to stop the car. He jumped out of the car and took a look: a two-meter-wide deep ditch had been dug by the "enemy" across the road. He immediately reported to the battalion command car:

"Mighty Eagle, this is Fierce Tiger. A ditch about two meters wide blocks the board. What shall we do?"

"Continue forward, drive through it fast!"

"Yes, sir."

The command car approached the ditch and with a roar dashed across it. One by one the vehicles following it dashed across the ditch.

By a hard and difficult rapid march, the battalion had used only 18 minutes to reach its artillery position. Here the terrain was low lying and, coupled with the fact that the weather had been overcast and rainy for days on end, mud was quite deep, which would create difficulties in accurately firing the rocket launchers. Just as each company commander was studying emergency measures, an urgent message came from the forward command post: "The battle at Huya Mountain is extremely fierce, and with frenzied firepower the 'enemy' has stopped our tank assault. Your battalion's rocket launchers must take up their launch position in 5 minutes' time and with fierce fire neutralize the 'enemy' in support of our infantry and tank assault." Battalion commander Chen Maofa [7115 5399 3127] excitedly waved his hand and said: "Comrades! We must overcome our difficulties and race against time to prepare to fire!"

The battalion commander had hardly finished speaking when his officers and men put their feet in the mud, grabbed shovels, and dug level launcher beds so that each armored launcher vehicle rested steadily in the mud. Closely on the heels of this, the turrets of the self-propelled rocket launchers on the armored vehicles rose gradually until they were tilted high, presenting a formidable appearance. On the ground below the vehicles some of the loaders were cleaning projectiles, some were linking up fuses, and some were carrying projectiles. Beads of sweat oozed from their foreheads, but no one was willing to take even a little break. He Jinlong [0149 6855 7893], loader for launcher No 4 of the 2d Company, who used to be an outstanding aimer, said: "To do our duty we must set our minds at ease and make first-rate achievements in whatever work we do." Since becoming a loader he has studied diligently and trained hard, and he can now lift up, without a break, over 120 projectiles, each weighing over 60 jin. In a contest of physical prowess, he broke two of the unit's records for the artilleryman specialty. This time, for every one projectile carried at a time by others he carried two at a time. When loading, he and his comrades in arms coordinated to finish loading 19 projectiles in 40 seconds, producing excellent results.

The launcher chief and the aimer are the key to the fulfillment of an individual launcher's firing mission, and they must have quick reactions and be accurate and fast in making calculations. In charge of the standard launcher in this battle was Zhang Jin [1728 6651], chief of Launcher Vehicle No 1 of the 2d Company, who joined the army in 1977 from Hai'an County and has always been a pacesetter. Not long ago, in a competitive test of his specialty, in 61 seconds he broke his unit's highest record in accurately "receiving, recording, and executing" six sets of commands. Now, calmly and decisively he, in a loud and clear voice, repeated the commands sent from the position's command post. At his side the aimer, following his commands, operated the directional mechanism and the elevation mechanism....

At 630 in the morning, the forward command post made an urgent call: "Request artillery fire support!" Battalion commander Chen's pent-up energy erupted: "Battalion attention, fire!" At the command, the rocket projectiles left their tubes and, like several hundreds of fiery dragons sweeping across the vast sky, flew as swift as wind and quick as lightning toward the "enemy" position 6,000 meters away. Boom! Boom! Boom! The earth shook and Huya Mountain immediately became a sea of fire, the "enemy" position was completely destroyed, and a way was opened for the victorious advance of our tank forces.

The sound of the launchers stopped, motors rumbled, several tens of turrets in unison sank back into the interior of the armed launcher vehicles, which swiftly left their position and headed for a new target.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### MILITARYMEN TRAINED IN CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF OPEN-DOOR POLICY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Zhu Xiangzhong [2612 3276 1813]: "A Deeper Understanding of the Party's Open-Door Policy"]

[Text] Comrades of a certain military unit stationed here who took part in a philosophy training class concerning the party's open-door policy, by studying and applying Comrade Mao Zedong's views on philosophy to answer and resolve current actual ideological questions, have further unified their understanding of the party's open-door policy.

By studying and applying the viewpoints with a universal relation to affairs, they recognized the historical necessity of practicing the open-door policy. Everybody studied the viewpoints with universal relation to affairs in "On Contradiction" and studied in "On Protracted War" how the Chinese-Japanese war was put into a specific historical context and the scientific method of objective overall viewpoints coupled with investigation was adopted. From the integration of the entirety of international economic relationships, they saw that practicing the open-door policy is an inevitable trend that suits the development of socialized production. From the condition of our country, they saw that practicing the open-door policy is an urgent requirement for speeding up the four modernizations. From the course of the historical development of the Chinese nation, they saw that practicing the open-door policy conforms to the necessity of the historical development of China's society and economy. A student of the certain unit, Li Deyu [2621 1795 0151], said that development of the social nature of production up to the present day is making the integration and contacts of the international economy more and more wide-ranging and close. Practicing the open-door policy is a universal experience of advanced countries that have realized modernization. Our country is a country engaged in the construction of modernization in the eighties decade of the 20th century, and practicing the open-door policy totally meets the objective demand for the development of our country's socialist economy.

By studying and applying the viewpoing that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, one will understand the correctness of the open-door policy. At the beginning, some comrades saw that in the process of "opening the door" some problems appeared, and they came to the conclusion that "its disadvantages outweighed its advantages." Focusing on this situation, the training

class first of all introduced to everybody actual materials relating to the open-door policy, leading everybody to discuss the problem of how to grasp correctly the practice criterion, so that everybody came to understand that practicing the open-door policy promotes production, invigorates the economy, expands employment, increases foreign exchange payments, and supplements the insufficiencies in funds for internal construction. Practice has already proved and will continue to prove that carrying out the open-door policy benefits the country and the people and is totally correct. In the past, owing to the "leftist" influence, it was mistakenly thought that we should struggle in isolation, acting independently and with self-reliance, and that foreign assistance was not wanted; and it was mistakenly thought that doing business with capitalist countries was the expression of a slavish comprador/philosophy that worshipped and had blind faith in foreign things. If this bias is not overcome, one cannot correctly understand the open-door policy. Now is the time to cast aside the old viewpoint of closing the country to international intercourse and to put in its place the new idea of opening the door to international intercourse.

By studying and applying the dialectics of the unity and struggle between contradictions, one understands that an important guarantee for correctly carrying out the open-door policy is the implementation of the principle of "both contacts and struggle." Zhang Chongyan [1728 1504 1484], a student of the unit, said that, in the history of our party, Comrade Mao Zedong, based on the dialectics of the unity of and struggle between contradictions, formulated the correct tactic of setting up the united front in which both unity and struggle were carried out, and thereby led the revolution to victory. Today, the party Central Committee, in practicing the open-door policy, is putting forward the dual tactic of carrying out both contacts and struggle. This is the correct application of the scientific tenet of materialist dialectics of grasping struggle amid unity and grasping unity amid struggle, and it is the correct principle for insuring the healthy development of the open-door policy. Integrating their own ideological reality with that of their units, many comrades said: For us, the key to implementing the policy of "both contacts and struggle" is to raise the capacity to resist corrosion and guard against political change. To oppose corrosion we must, be grasping "quantitative change," consciously check erroneous ideas at the outset and firmly grasp the initiative. We must launch on a wide scale the activities to build socialist spiritual civilization, let communist ideology occupy the ideological and cultural positions, and take the lead in being clear-headed, steadfast revolutionaries.

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CS0: 4005/1203

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QUESTIONS, ANSWERS ON VIOLATORS OF PLANNED PARENTHOOD

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Office of Planned Parenthood: "What Punishment Should be Given to Those Who Violate Planned Parenthood?--Questions and Answers Concerning Planned Parenthood, No 4"]

[Text] Comrade Editor: There are a few people here who are not putting planned parenthood into practice. Some people have received their single child certificate and then have given birth to a second child. What economic sanctions should be applied to these people? Ka Qisheng, Pucheng.

Comrade Ka Qisheng: The required economic sanctions should be applied to those who violate planned parenthood and they should be ordered to take strict birth control measures.

1. The medicine and welfare allowances enjoyed by those who give birth in accordance with regulations should be canceled in the cases of cadres and staff and workers of organizations and business enterprises who give birth to a second child outside of the plan. Both parties will have their wages adjusted, from 5 to 10 percent of the wages of each party will be deducted each month until the 14th anniversary of the birth. The deductions can be made one time or periodically. At the same time, they cannot enjoy financial difficulty assistance and child care assistance. They must also put birth control procedures into practice.
2. Residents of cities and towns who give birth to a second child outside the plan are to be assessed a social rearing fee of 500 to 800 yuan. This can be paid at one time or in installments. They must also put birth control procedures into practice. During the first ten years of the child's life, its grain and oil rations will be supplied at negotiated prices.
3. Residents of rural communes who give birth to a second child outside the plan cannot be assigned special responsibility plots, private plots, mountain areas for private use, beaches for private use and fruits for private use. In addition, their family contracted production quotas cannot be increased. After they have given birth to their second child, they must put birth control procedures into practice and they must not give birth to a third child.

Those who give birth to three or more children, in addition to being treated as described above, must also give back a portion of their special responsibility plots, private plots, mountain areas for private use, beaches for private use and fruits for private use. At the same time, they will also be assessed food and social rearing fees.

4. Married couples who have received their only child certificate and who give birth to a second child (except in the case in which the only child has died) will be punished for giving birth outside the plan. In addition, the child health fees and various types of allowances and awards that have been issued will be recovered. If a child cannot grow up to be a normal member of the labor force because of disability, then birth can be given to a second child upon receipt of approval to do so with only the only child certificate being withdrawn.

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CSO: 4005/1278

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### CADRES OF MINORITY NATIONALITIES IN QINGHAI SELECTED AS LEADERS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 82 p 4

[Article: "Many Minority Nationality Cadres in Qinghai Are Becoming Leaders--Training and Selecting Minority Nationality Cadres Becomes an Important Aspect of Building the Party"]

[Excerpt] Report by reporters Yu Weihai [0205 0143 3189] and Dang Zhou [7825 0719]: In recent years, the Qinghai CPC Committee has integrated training and selection of minority nationality Party cadres, with many minority nationality Party cadres assuming leadership posts at all levels. This has promoted the development of various reconstruction undertakings in minority nationality regions. At present, there are five minority nationality cadres who are on the standing committee of the Provincial CPC Committee and four are vice-governors in the provincial government. There are also close to 30 persons who have assumed leadership duties in the Provincial CPC Committee and provincial government departments and offices (bureaus). In Qinghai Province, there are six autonomous prefecture, one city, one autonomous region. In the six autonomous prefectures in which the minority nationalities live in compact communities, there are 5 minority nationality cadres who have been promoted and selected to serve as prefectural committee secretaries and there are six who have been appointed as prefectural magistrates. In the 29 counties under prefectural jurisdiction and the 3 autonomous counties, 26 minority nationality cadres have been appointed as county CPC committee secretaries and 32 have been appointed as county magistrates. These comrades have an intimate knowledge of conditions in their regions and have wide-ranging and close relationships with the masses so that, in their leadership posts, they can take charge of their localities and thoroughly bring their leadership functions into play.

Qinghai Province is a region in which many minority nationalities live in compact communities, with such minority nationalities as the Zang, the Hui, the Monggol, the Tu, the Salar and the Kazak accounting for 38 percent of the total population of the province. Since the Third Plenary Session of the Party, the Qinghai CPC Committee has considered training and selection of minority nationality Party cadres to be an important aspect of Party building and has considered it to be a major factor in fully implementing the Party's policies on minority nationalities. When minority nationality Party cadres

are selected, attention is given to actual conditions. At the same time that emphasis is placed on doing things in a revolutionary way, having younger cadres, having cadres with more knowledge and having cadres with specialized knowledge, we should also boldly select for leadership work posts at all levels those minority nationality cadres who support the line and specific and general policies of the Third Plenary Session of the Party, who uphold the four basic principles, whose ideology and work style are orthodox, who have a definite capacity for work and high prestige and who uphold, support and strengthen minority group solidarity.

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CSO: 4006/1278

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FORTY-ONE FROGMEN PASS TESTS IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai WENHUIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 2

[Article: "Forty-One Frogmen Obtain Their Certificates in This City--  
Ministry of Communications Institutes Examination System for Frogmen"]

[Text] Forty-one frogmen were tested in this city and obtained their frogmen certificates issued by the Ministry of Communications the day before yesterday.

In recent years, there has been a rapid development of our nation's frogmen corps and there has been continuous improvement in the level of diving work. In order further to meet the demands of marine development projects and in order to further expand our international commercial underwater services, the Ministry of Communications decided to institute an examination system for frogmen. Last year, the Ministry formulated a provisional method for testing frogmen and issuing certificates and established the Frogmen Examination Committee. On the basis of the resolution by the Ministry of Communications, the Shanghai Rescue and Salvage Bureau carried out training of frogmen from the Yantai, Shanghai and Guangzhou Rescue and Salvage Bureaus. It organized eight courses for the frogmen to train them in diving techniques and for study of diving theory, diving medicine, English diving terminology and current events and politics. The first and second training groups have already been completed.

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CSO: 4005/1278

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### APPRAISAL OF FOREIGN CULTURE URGED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Ai Qing [5337 7230]: "Foreign Culture Must be Analyzed and Appraised"]

[Text] The Chinese people not only cherish their own national culture, at the same time they also have a high regard for the cultures created by the people of other nations. The Chinese people are happy to and are adept at carrying on cultural exchanges with other nations and at further enriching and developing their own culture through exchanges.

Historically, we have entered the eighties of the 20th century. Science and technology have made it possible to transmit information that used to require days or even months for transmission instantaneously from one corner to another corner of the world. The large scale and rapidity of cultural exchanges among nations today are unprecedented. Even though this is the case, we must still have a basic standpoint in regard to the basic questions of maintaining and developing the characteristics of our own culture and of preventing assimilation (internationalization).

The formation of a national culture is determined by such factors as history, geography, economics and aesthetic viewpoints. Each nation should treasure its own cultural tradition. The conditions for developing a new national culture and raising the self-confidence of the nation are to put the ancient culture in order, to absorb the essence of its democratic character and to eliminate its feudalistic dross.

In order to develop one's national culture, it is necessary to absorb all progressive and healthy things from foreign cultures. We should make every effort to absorb progressive foreign culture for the purposes of reference. However, we must not apply it indiscriminately and blindly. Rather, we should conditionally absorb progressive cultures of all nations on the foundation of the Chinese cultural tradition.

China is a nation with a long history of poetry and poetry has always occupied a position of legitimate literature. However, during the long period of the development of poetry, there gradually developed a body of very strict rules and forms of composition. These forms hampered people's thinking and artistic creativity.

China's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary movement, and the "May 4th" movement of 1919 in particular, shook the foundations of the old culture that had existed for several thousands of years, with a new, modern Chinese literature being produced out of this cultural revolution. A new Chinese poetry appeared that took the place of the classical poetry with its strict rules and forms.

Under the impact of various foreign schools, the new, modern Chinese poetry has broken the rules and forms of classical poetry, respecting free creation and using everyday language. In terms of technique, it is comparatively diverse and can reflect actual life more broadly. For this reason, the masses like it, this is natural. Without doubt, our poetry is being enriched and developed on the foundation of our nation's poetic tradition.

To be sure, accepting foreign influences and the new literary forms of immigrants cannot be determined artificially following one's own inclinations. Only those things that fit the needs of the nation can take root in the soil of our national culture and blossom to become fragrant flowers in the realm of our national art and literature.

Mutual influence among cultures is a complex and diverse phenomenon like jumbling together fish and dragons. For this reason, we must analyze and appraise foreign culture, chewing it over and digesting it. We cannot rigidly import and copy it uncritically. We cannot forget the cultural aggression that colonialism has waged against us. In the world at present there is a great discussion about the pollution that industrialization has brought with it. We cannot forget that there is similarly pollution in terms of culture. Some western nations have exported large quantities of literary works and moving pictures propagating sex and violence and abnormal music and pictures that are poisoning the minds of the young. It is in this that lies the conflict between exclusion and absorption.

As we stated previously, the growth and development of the culture of the Chinese people cannot be separated from active influences of foreign cultures. From this, the following can be concluded. Even at the present time at which there is a high degree of development of science and technology, interaction among cultures has reached an unprecedented level. Thus, we must follow the principle of critical absorption and resistance of that which is corrupting. Tea leaves and coffee can exist together but opium and marijuana must be prohibited. Science and superstition must be differentiated. On the basis of these principles, all nations will be able to create even more brilliant and magnificent national cultures and in the course of increasingly closer cultural exchanges the characteristics of each national culture will bring mutual benefit to each culture as each adopts good points and makes up for shortcomings.

(Excerpted from the author's address at the "Asian Writers Conference." The title was supplied by the editors of this newspapers.)

10019

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### JINAN MUSLIMS WELCOME 12TH PARTY CONGRESS

Jinan DAZHING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Our Hui Nationality Compatriots and Islam Imams in Jinan City Have Studied and Discussed the Communiqué on Implementing a Good Minority Nationality Religions Policy and Welcome the 12th Party Conference"]

[Text] After studying the communiqué of the Party's Seventh Plenary Session, our numerous Hui nationality compatriots and the Muslims in Jinan City were excited and inspired by it, resolving to welcome the convening of the 12th Party Congress with concrete actions.

On the morning of 7 August, the imams of the various mosques, some of the members of the editorial staffs of the city nationality magazines and working personnel of the Mosque Management Committee assembled at the Nanda Mosque and conscientiously studied and discussed the communiqué of the Seventh Plenary Session. The Vice-Chairman of the Provincial Islamic Association, Imam Ma Degui [7456 1795 6311] said that the Seventh Plenary Session had made the resolution to convene the 12th Party Congress on 1 September. This major resolution is completely in keeping with the requirements of socialist modernization and reconstruction, fully reflects the common wishes of all nationalities throughout the nation and has the wholehearted support of the numerous members of the Hui nationality group and the Muslims. Provincial government CPC committeeman and Imam Zhang Fukui [1728 4395 7608] said that since the Party's Third Plenary Session great victories have been attained in the fields of economics, politics and culture in our nation and the complete correctness of the Party's line and general and specific policies has been demonstrated. In recent years, the Party and the government have actively supported and assisted the minority nationalities in expanding production and have expended large sums to repair, maintain and open mosques. These are vivid expressions of the sincere concern of the Party and government for minority peoples and of implementation of minority nationality religious policies. When the 12th Party Congress is convened, we should indeed thoroughly study each document, further implement the Party's policies on minority nationality religions and make new accomplishments in each of our own posts. Imam Li Zhaoxing [2621 0340 5281] said that after he had studied the letter of greeting from the plenary session to comrades Liu Bochong [0491 0130 2110] and Cai Chang [5591 2545], he had received great encouragement

and education. The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries made great contributions during the revolution and in reconstruction. They are good examples for all of our nationalities and peoples to study. We extend our wholehearted wishes to these two veterans of the revolution for health and long life.

During the course of study and discussion, everyone agreed that we must further assist the Party and government in implementing a good policy toward minority nationality religions, strengthen the great solidarity among the nationalities, make a concerted effort to do a good job of building a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization and welcome the 12th Party Congress with concrete actions.

10019

CSO: 4005/1278

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FIRST GROUP OF DOCTORATE, MASTER DEGREES AWARDED

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [Higher Education Front] in Chinese No 1, 82,  
13 Jan 1982 p 14

[Article: "Statistics on the First Group of Doctorate and Masters Degrees  
Awarded in This Country"]

[Text]

(1) Units awarding the first group of doctorates	151 units
Academic departments and specializations of the units awarding doctorates	812
Teachers able to guide doctoral candidates	1,155 persons
Units awarding the first group of masters degrees	358 units
Academic departments and specializations of the units awarding masters degrees	3,185

(2) Of the academic departments and specializations of the units awarding doctorates, 75 percent were colleges and universities and 25 percent were scientific research facilities. Of the teachers able to guide doctoral candidates, 69.9 percent were in colleges and universities and 30.1 percent were in scientific research facilities.

Of the academic departments and specializations of the units awarding masters degrees, 84.2 percent were colleges and universities and 15.8 percent were scientific research facilities.

(3) Of the academic departments and specializations of the units awarding doctorates in colleges and universities, 87.5 percent were key institutions of higher learning and 12.5 percent were general schools. Of the academic departments and specializations of the units awarding masters degrees in colleges and universities, 64.1 percent were key institutions of higher learning and 35.9 percent were general schools.

10019

CSO: 4005/1278

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TENDENCY OF WRITERS TO FEEL SUPERIOR IS DECRIED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 7, 82, Jul 82 pp 100-101

[Article by Fan Bing [0416 1456]: "Three Notes for Writers To Study"]

[Text] Beware of the Tendency "The Party Member is Unimportant; the Writer Is Important

Party literature and art workers should first of all be ordinary party members and then be "cultural workers"--this is a problem which embodies the important principle that literature should be "party literature."

Looking back on the ranks of literature and art over the past few years, there has been a tendency to feel that "party members are unimportant, whereas writers are important." For example, some artists who are party members have publicly stated that by nature, literature and art "is not something that any party, faction, organization, or party branch can control" From the highest party organization down to the party branch, nothing can control literature and art and the writer. Isn't this "the party member is unimportant, whereas the writer is important"? Among some young party member writers, one often also sees the following: As the reputation of the artist grows, his quality as an ordinary Communist Party member becomes weaker. Once he has a little reputation, he talks more crudely and not only comes forth with opinions that are not in line with the Party Central Committee but even goes so far as to "try the party." (There are even such party member artists in the services.) Isn't this also a tendency toward feeling that "the party member is unimportant, whereas the writer is important"?

I think the reasons why such titles as party member, revolutionary soldier, and revolutionary, which define the writer's class character, are placed before the title "writer" is also very simple: It is because we have always felt that writing should be "useful"--"useful" to the party and people and "useful" to the revolution. So, only people who are enthusiastic about and correctly understand the party and the revolution can write "useful" things. Once a revolutionary writer "smashes" the bonds of party and revolutionary army discipline and unilaterally carries out his so-called writer's "self-expansion," the "writer" part can unexpectedly "become overgrown" and may not

be "useful" to the revolution, but may even be harmful. This being the case, why should the party and people welcome such a writer?

Does this constitute unusual "cruelty" toward the writer on the part of the proletariat? No. In fact, any class makes this sort of demand on its writers. The feudal period advocated "moral writing," suggesting that one was "cultured only if he was moral," and placed feudal "principles" and "morality" ahead of writing. The bourgeoisie places "self" above everything. An artistic soldier from the ranks of the fighting proletariat should self-consciously demand of himself that he "first of all be a Communist Party member," so why should he feel "unaccustomed" to this?:

#### Divisions of Labor, Differences, Discrepancies

"Well, are there differences among party members? Yes. Division of labor constitutes difference, but division of labor cannot be made the basis of special privilege." This statement takes us from the realm of micro-art into the universe of macro-art. Why do we say that division of labor cannot be made the basis for special privilege? It is not just because the division of labor of the writer is no more "noble" than other divisions of labor. For example, comparing it with military struggle, Lu Xun said: "A poem cannot frighten away a warlord, but a cannon shell can drive him away." ("And That's That." "Literature of the Revolutionary Period") Or further, in the view of the communist, the occupation of writer has an element of irrationality, and in the communist process it must ultimately be changed. In "The German Ideology," Marx and Engels said this: "The result of the division of labor is that artistic talent is concentrated entirely in the individual as artist, but it is constrained by the individual as part of the masses. Even if each person can become an outstanding artist in a certain social relationship, the possibility cannot be definitely eliminated that each person could become a creative artist. Thus, the discrepancy between 'human' labor and 'individual labor has no meaning at all here. No matter what, in a communist social organization the subordination of the writer to the local and ethnic restrictions which proceed from the division of labor are eliminated, and this keeps the artist from being imprisoned in one artistic sphere, to be only a painter, a sculptor, etc. Thus only the name for his activity fully explains the limitations of his professional development and his reliance on the division of labor. In a communist society there are no painters; [there are] only people who make painting one of their own activities." [Writer of article marked last sentence for emphasis.]

Look at this point with a clear head. A writer who is a Communist Party member not only should not look down on other things because he is a "writer," but on the contrary he should create the conditions which thoroughly eliminate this irrational division of labor. Here one can't help but think of Wei Jianyong [5898 1696 0516], the martyr of Koulin Shan, and Ye Yongning [5509 3057 1380], the martyr of Faqia Shan. The former won honor for shooting the enemy and wrote fiction and poetry; the latter killed the enemy in combat and painted and did scissor-cuts. They were not "imprisoned in one artistic sphere to be only a painter or sculptor," but were people who made literature and art "one of their own activities." Just like the title martyr given to Wei

Jianyong by the Kunming forces, they were "good soldiers who could engage in both culture and fighting." In their persons they embodied Marx and Engels' presaging of the complete man in communist society. They are models worthy of our respect and emulation.

#### 'The Disturbance of Writers' and Flea-like Marxism

Many comrades in the world of literature and art feel that restudying Marxism-Leninism has benefits both for culture and for people and is the sole method for strengthening party spirit and getting rid of evil influences.

When mentioning the study of Marxism, I think of the tortuous path marched a hundred years ago when the proletariat had just acquired its own ranks of literature and art. About 1890, Engels was personally guiding the German Communist Party. At the time "many university students, writers, and other young bourgeois left their own classes and came into the party." "By custom they viewed the bourgeois university as the St Cyr school of socialism.\* This school could give them certain rights; for example, if it could not lead to the rank of general, it could lead to an officer's rank to join the 'party ranks.'" (See Engels, 27 Oct 1890 letter to Lafargue.) Thus in the German party's ranks of literature and art and in the editorial offices of their periodicals, there was a "superficial style in literature of blindly pleasing the crowd" and "the bad practice in the press of favoring those in power" (see Engels, 6 June 1895 letter to Tula [1458 2139 1717]), even causing the spirit of brotherhood, humanitarianism, sentimental feelings, etc., to spread. In sum, there was a "tendency for gentlemen writers within the party to form a respectable, antibourgeois ideology." Engels used a phrase for this phenomenon of the time, calling it "disturbance of writers," and criticized it in his writings many times.

What is the root of this disturbance? Engels also conducted a well-known and very vivid dissection. He said that it was due to a "Marxism" that would make even Marx say "I am no longer a Marxist" if he were to see it. "Probably Marx would say, as Heine did when discussing his imitators, 'What I sowed was dragon seed, but what I reaped was fleas.'" That is to say, flea-like "Marxism" led to a "disturbance of writers."

Looking back on the tendency toward bourgeois liberalism that has appeared in recent years, there are many similarities to the "disturbance of writers" in the German party a hundred years ago. Especially, isn't the crux of the problem also because many of our writers and artists have departed from Marxism and "lack basic political knowledge," and tendencies are exposed in their works such as portraying the serious class struggle in history as a "misunderstanding," describing the factors deviating from class relations as "beauty of humanity," etc., and views such as "writers and artists have always been opposed to the rulers," and "writer and artists have consciences but

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\*St Cyr was a privileged officer school in France.

"politicians don't"? Facts show that the slogan issued by Comrade Mao Zedong 40 years ago in his "Talks" to literature and art workers--that they should "humbly study Marxism"--has not yet gone out of date. More dragon seeds and Marxism and less flea-like "Marxism" is still today a serious topic which faces each and every one of us writers and artists.

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CSO: 4005/1191

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ADEQUATE RESEARCH SAID NEEDED IN WRITING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese  
No 7, 82, Jul 82 pp 102-103

[Article by Bai Wen [4101 2429]: "Talking About Writing Inspired by 'Drinking' Nitroglycerine"]

[Text] One night when I was reading "On Two Trends Among Party Literature and Art Workers" which Comrade Chen Yun published recently, when I got to the part where he warned literature and art workers not to be arrogant but to be knowledgeable, I got to thinking.

When I was young, I wrote a poem: "Outside my window is a cypress vine." But even after several decades, I still don't know what a "cypress vine" looks like or what kind of plant it is.

This is not at all strange in a person who wants to be a "writer" when he is young. Because he is anxious to sing or even to publish, he just writes on a subjective basis.

Later on, I read some books on art and gradually became aware that if a work is not authentic enough to make me believe it, it can't move me. In recent years, because I have become old, I have become eccentric, and when I see something in a work that is not described accurately, sometimes I can't help laughing. But it can't arouse my sympathy or affect me, and that's true.

A work has to deal with artistic truth and be fair and reasonable before it can make me believe it or move me. This is a principle everyone learned long ago, so nothing more need be said on that score. The reason I want to express these feelings is that some works now have lost their force as literature because they are ignorant of the details of life.

We who are soldiers know that when the company commander or the commander at any level calls the roll, we answer loud and clear: "Here"! I don't think there's any doubt about that. But from what I've seen, it wasn't like this in the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, and it wasn't like this in the period right after the People's Republic of China was founded. Calling the roll then, the answer was "Present"! Probably in the 1950's when they were standardizing our army, an order was issued changing it

to "Here"! I can't help feeling a little queer--I don't believe it. For this reason the work also loses an element which can move me, and in my mind I ask, "Is this authentic"?

Here's another example. In admiring a work which depicts modern life, I recently also have occasionally run into this kind of problem: they describe an old cadre with heart disease. This is true. Old age often brings illness. Yet when they are upset, angina or heart attack develops and then the problem arises. I have read three stories and one movie script which say that they give the patient nitroglycerine to "drink" or let him "smell" it, and one sniff and he's recovered. I suffer from heart disease, and I know that the first-aid medicine for angina is called "nitroglycerine tablets." They are white tablets which you hold under your tongue to relieve the pain. There is also an imported medicine which is wrapped in a sweet glutinous paper and is also "held in the mouth," but it isn't a "liquid" and definitely can't be "drunk." Of course, taking things too literally, "nitroglycerine" seems like a "liquid," but it really isn't.

As far as "sniffing" it is concerned, as far as I know, that's called "amyl nitrite." I have seen imported kinds labeled "ammonia," packed in a glass vial wrapped in plastic foam, or without any wrapping--in which case it has to be wrapped in a handkerchief. When a patient goes into shock and has his teeth clenched, you break the vial under his nose with a "pop" and it gives off an irritating smell so that the patient comes to; then you can open his mouth so that the medicine can be put in and he can be revived. Because of the sound it makes, it is nicknamed "little cannon shell."

Of course, these are details, little things, but when I feel that the details aren't authentic, I can help but feel a little queer, and it reduces the work's appeal for me.

In a similar vein, I feel that there are really a lot of unauthentic details in recent works. For example, in writing about history, there are modern and even "Cultural Revolutionary" phrases in the language. When reading certain works about life in foreign countries, I do not know if the writer has accurate information, and I always feel it isn't that way. Though I lack knowledge about life abroad, I've seen foreign movies and read foreign novels. Incidentally, I have asked comrades who have studied abroad, and when they read the works they wondered too. Is this life abroad? Is it authentic? Take "martini," for example. It wasn't until the year before last, when I asked a comrade who was familiar with the life of foreigners, that I found out it was a cocktail.

I'm not saying that a writer cannot write about old cadres or about life abroad, but only that he must do some research to be authentic, the better for the reader to believe. If someone thinks this is creative, then he can go on in this muddled fashion, and of course there's nothing I can say, but in my heart I think it shouldn't be permitted.

As for making things up, a work which is not authentic fundamentally is another problem and not one of my laments.

For a serious artist it is hard, of course, not to have some places which are not authentic. I am not learned and can only find an example from the story "Wang Anshi Thrice Aggravates Scholar Su," from the "Jingshi Tongyan." The story goes that the famous Su Dongpo saw Wang Anshi's poem "Ode to the Chrysanthemum," and when he read the lines "Last night the west wind went through the grove and gilt the ground with yellow flowers," he thought, "The flowers open in late autumn here. They are related by nature to fire, so they dare to battle with the autumn frost and are not able to endure. They wither, just as you age, but they do not lose their petals." So he wrote another poem saying in mockery, "Autumn flowers do not fall like spring flowers; tell the poet to sing more attentively." Wang Anshi read it, but didn't argue. He just demoted Su to deputy militia envoy to Huangzhou. Not long after Su Dongpo got to Huangzhou, "it was right after midautumn and there was a strong wind every day. One day the wind abated. Chrysanthemum flowers by the fence "covered the ground with gold, and there was not a blossom left on the branches." Su Dongpo was so scared that he "was dumbfounded and couldn't speak for a long time." So he had been wrong all along. Of course, this really isn't evidence, but it has a lesson for us. At least when Feng Menglong wrote the story in the Ming era, he must have been sensitive to this idea; why else would he call the Yuan and Ming "prompt books" and write "imitation prompt books"? There may even have been others with these ideas earlier. Yet if the error which Su Dongpo committed was so rare that he was "dumbfounded," what about our modern writers? And what about the works on modern life we have pointed out? This story has a lesson for me, and I hope it will encourage writers.

In the movies, some have already criticized the streamlined cars which appeared in descriptions of Great Cultural Revolution days; even if you are very attentive to details in shooting a movie, it is hard to avoid slipups. Mistakes are not good, of course, but paying attention to the problem is the thing to do. Basically, it amounts to the writer's plunging into the thick of life. We don't want a writer who 'not only doesn't know what the exchange is, or where the millet they eat in Shanghai comes from, or where their feces go, and having lived there seven or eight years still doesn't know.' (Chen Yun, "On Two Trends Among Party Literature and Art Workers"). He wrote that about the time of the 1911 Revolution, the period of democratic revolution... all the details of life in those times: When was "penicillin" invented and when did they have "sulfathiazole"? When did popsicles appear? When were pedicabs on the streets? What did people wear in the 1920's? Did the warlords' boyguards ride hanging on the car doors?... We need evidence so that it will not cause jokes, or at least will cause fewer jokes. As for modern life, there are things which await our detailed familiarization, research, and efforts so that we don't say things that make us appear to be uninformed and so our works can have more power.

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CSO: 4005/1191

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CONVERSATION ON AUTHENTICITY IN WRITING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 7, 82, Jul 82 pp 104-108

[Article by Liu Jin [0491 6855]: "Conversation at My Humble Abode--On Authenticity, Mirrors, and Other Things"]

[Text] My humble abode is small, but occasionally a friend comes to visit. When a friend comes, we have a cup of tea and talk and laugh to our hearts' content. Our conversation is mostly about literature and art. I have recorded a section, which I call "Conversation at My Humble Abode."

Host: I have read your work. You are very gifted. But I don't understand why you think present reality is so somber, so dark, so hopeless, so sorrowful.

Guest: You shouldn't ask me about this. You should go ask society, ask life! I am a writer. My artist's conscience won't let me hide the truth or deceive. I want to speak the truth, write the truth. What I pursue is the truth, the truth, the truth!

Host: It is of course natural to write the truth. I don't expect that you would create stories that are nothing but brightness to fool the masses. No. I am even fed up with those works that are false, exaggerated and whitewash life. In the 1950's I cried out: "Praise, but don't whitewash!"

Guest: But if it is not to whitewash, what do you want me to praise? To tell the truth, I really want to sing the praises of brightness, but I don't know where it is!

Host: Then I encourage you to go to the villages, to the factories, to go among the creators of the four modernizations. In that way you will see many beautiful things and beautiful people. You will see that life is advancing, that life is creating new heroes. You will see that there is not only a dark side to life but also a bright side. Moreover, the bright side is constantly expanding! Have you read "In Praise of the Chinese Spirit," the report of the brave fighting with mudslides and rockslides at the Liziyida Bridge on the Chengdu-Kunming Railway? Have you read the "Notes" of four writers who visited Heze and Lankao and, which was published in WENYIBAO?

Have you read the report of the young girl who gave her inheritance of several hundred thousand yuan to the nation and was happy to earn her own living?...

Guest: (frowns) It looks like you're a model "virtue praiser." Well, do you object to exposing darkness? Do you object to unmasking society's defects? Do you want us to close our eyes in the face of ugly things?

Host: I have never thought there were any factions praising virtue "gechangpai" [2960 1795 3175] or factions lacking virtue "quedepai" [4972 1795 3175]. I don't object to exposing darkness and unmasking society's defects. And I don't expect you to close your eyes in the face of ugly things. I just hope that you will open your eyes wider and see more broadly. I hope that you will not only see the darkness but will also see the brightness; not only directly face ugliness, but also look squarely at real goodness. You say that blindly singing someone's praises, whitewashing life, covering up darkness is what Lu Xun called the literature of "deceit and fraud" and he resolutely opposed it. Yes. Well, shouldn't blindly taking great delight in darkness and ugliness and placing the brightness and beauty of life outside the reach of your pen be opposed? Isn't this literature of "deceit and fraud" in another sense?

Guest: Oh, this lable of yours is really too big. That suspicion of yours is something of a stick!

Host: I'm sorry. I'm only speaking the truth. Recently, calling the praise of socialist brightness the literature of "deceit and fraud" has been a common occurrence, but why has no one said that it is a label or a stick?

Guest: Although there is some darkness and also some brightness in life, an honest writer can only write about things which affect him deeply. If he can only feel profound darkness, why do you insist that he not speak from the heart, but write about a brightness he has never experienced? Why not let the writer freely write about the truth he has experienced profoundly?

Host: Of course, the writer has the right and should write about truth that is familiar to him. But just as Gorky said in discussing writing about the truth, the writer "should ask himself two questions. One question is, What is Truth? And the other question is: Why write about the truth?" On the first question, Gorky said in "Shamelessness" that there are two truths. One is outdated and corrupt; the other is young, stubborn, advancing toward its own noble targets. Our writers must give some thought to this: Which truth has he seen and described? "What kind of truth has he affirmed? What kind of truth does he hope will win the victory?" What is even more important is, Why does he write about this truth? Is it to encourage the people to wholeheartedly struggle with dark forces and corrupt forces so as to propel socialism forward? Or is it to scatter the viruses of skepticism, nihilism, and pessimism, to disintegrate the people's revolutionary fighting will, and even to lead the people to depart from the leadership of the party and the course of socialism?...

Guest: I think you've pulled in the social function of literature and art again. In actuality, you want literature and art to serve society. To be a little more impolite, you want literature and art to be the lackeys of politics. But I think that the life of literature and art is truth. Let the writers write about truth and don't attach any conditions, and even less don't sacrifice truth to yield to political propaganda or any other needs! Otherwise it will decline!

Host: I approve of not making "literature and art serve politics" and of not making "literature and art be subordinate to politics." But if you think that literature and art can float on high, divorced from politics, then it is like a man thinking he can leave the earth by pulling up on his own hair. This not only is futile, but it may even only be a pose. Actually, it is extremely close to politics. Comrade Chen Yun's "On Two Tendencies of Party Literature and Art Workers," which was published recently in the press, also says it very clearly: "Strictly speaking, no literature and art work can be separated from politics. For example, the question of how to write about brightness and darkness is a question of a political nature."

As for saying that the life of art is truth, I respect this truth. Surely, untruthful art has no vitality. But first, speaking of art, it is just that the truth is not enough. It absolutely requires goodness and beauty. Truth can create the life of art, but it cannot give art a soul. Life without a soul is only a walking corpse. Second, "It must be understood that absolute truth and unadulterated truth do not exist"--de Maupassant said--"because no one can think of himself as a perfect, flawless mirror." Each one of us has idealist tendencies which make us see things this way or that; one and the same thing one person feels is correct but another may feel is wrong." The truth is just like this. Did you read the story "Village Wineshop"? How great the difference in the views of the "morals of today" of Farmer Tian, Carpenter Wang, and the recklessly concocted 85-year-old party member, the middle-aged man who died from eating quilt covers "chi beita" [0676 5926 1152]! If the three of them became writers and began to write a story, do you think they could be a mirror and reflect the truth of life? Do you think the work written by the middle-aged man could also be a mirror?...

Guest: Excuse me, but comparing literature to a mirror is not a new idea. Lenin said that Tolstoy was "a mirror of Russia's revolution." Shakespeare was even earlier. Through a character in "Hamlet" he said, "The play is a mirror." And according to the introduction to the translation of "Selected Literary Theories of the West, Stendahl said that a beautiful creation is like a mirror that reflects the road: it reflects both the blue sky and the mud of the road. The reader should not blame the mirror for the mud, but should blame the people in charge of road repair who should not have let water collect on the road and make it muddy and hard to travel. So how can you deny the "mirror theory" of literature?

Host: I don't object to the "mirror theory" of literature. This is doubtless a clever, useful analogy. I just don't approve of some comrades using the "mirror theory" as a shield for some untrue and tendentiously bad works.

Even making up a general's spending 10,000 yuan in foreign exchange to have a bathtub installed is still recognized as a "mirror" and is still a "reflection of truth." Thus, you can't criticize it but can criticize only the fictitious "general." Some works take a series of cadres from an area--from party secretary to regimental commander--and describe all of them as liars, hypocrites, and people with a seriously improper style. Do you think this is untrue? Others say, "The face is ugly so the mirror distorts." Someone wrote an essay in defense of a story: "The story is a mirror. It reflects a picture of social life. If mud appears in the mirror, isn't it ridiculous to blame the mirror and not the mud?"

Guest: What's wrong with that? Do you mean that if there are ugly faces and mud in life, the mirror shouldn't reflect them? Do you mean you demand that the mirror turn an ugly face into a beautiful person and that the mud be reflected as a wonderful, charming lily pond?

Host: Of course that's not the case. The question is that literature is in the end not the same as a mirror. The mirror makes no judgment about the object it reflects, and it cannot and should not choose on its own the objects to reflect. If you turn it toward the sky, it will reflect the sky; if you turn it toward the mud, it reflects the mud. The writer is different. He has his own likes and dislikes, and has his own esthetic interests. In the broad, complex picture of life, he cannot do just what he sees. He should persistently select the objects to reflect, according to his own wishes. This brings up another question: Why did he choose to reflect this and not that?? Why did he choose the mud and not the level road? He shone it on the black clouds and avoided the blue sky. You've probably heard of such a poet, I suppose? He specialized in writing about "explosive" subjects in order deliberately to create sensation and please the public. A "general" who tore down a kindergarten and spent several tens of thousands of yuan in foreign exchange to build a house for himself; a "general" who spent tens of thousands in foreign exchange to build a luxurious bathhouse for just one bathtub. In fact, such generals basically do not exist in socialist China. Some comrades urged him, "Why not write about the life of fervent struggle on the part of our engineers?" He replied, "It's useless to write about those things. That can't move me toward the Nobel." Someone else urged him not to write any more about those generals who do not exist and "can't do those kinds of things," but to write about generals like Lo Wuchu [5012 5294 0443], who maintained the glorious traditions of the old Red Army. He said that if he writes about such generals, "Won't I be surrendering?" When in this "mirror" there is reflected a false image that is much uglier than out-and-out fabrication and the distorted mud, don't people have the right to condemn it?

Guest: Of course, this is mistaken. But this is only an individual phenomenon. Generally speaking, an honest writer always is a realist and always can truthfully reflect life....

Host: You mention sincerity. This is really a beautiful word. But in today's world, different people have different sincerities. Take Weizhuang

before the 1970's. Qu Daye had Qu Daye's sincerity, and Ah Q had Ah Q's sincerity, needless to say; isn't "truth" also very different in the eyes of each of them? If Qu Daye, the Imitation Foreign Devil, and Little Lucky D were writers and each wrote a "True Story of Ah Q," the several images of Ah Q would certainly be very different. But they also would certainly think they had written with sincerity and truth, and if they had reputations, they probably would not have tolerated the intervention of critics.

Guest: According to what you say, works of literature fundamentally have no truth to speak of. It's as if real life was like a docile and obedient girl. The writer can dress her up any way he likes, in accordance with his esthetic views....

Host: No. It isn't that there is no truth to speak of, but that there is a difference between truth and untruth. If Qu Daye and the other three "authors" wrote Ah Q together, probably Little D's Ah Q would be truer. Of course, the truest would still be the one Lu Xun wrote about.

Guest: You're way off the mark, brother! Although we may not be Lu Xun's now, we are far from being compared with the likes of Qu Daye....

Host: Don't take it amiss; I was only making an example. I believe that the overwhelming majority of our writers are good. There are some among them who have no hopes of becoming Lu Xuns, either. But there is a condition to becoming a Lu Xun and that is, like Lu Xun, "to sharply grasp the demands of the time, not to consider the many great dangers which may be encountered, and resolutely to share the fate of the people's revolution." Also, to be like Lu Xun, one should make strict demands of himself, dispassionately dissect himself, constantly revise his world view, and strengthen his faith in Marxism and the Chinese Communist Party--in the words of the Communist Party of China's Central Committee Propaganda Department when publishing Comrade Chen Yun's essay "On Two Tendencies of Party Literature and Art Workers."

Guest: Well said. Of course, we should strive to learn from Lu Xun how to be writers and persons--first of all to become ordinary party members and revolutionaries.

Host: Then in conclusion, let me cite a passage from Gorky: "The task of our writers is a difficult and complex task. It cannot be summarized as only criticizing the old society and exposing the infectiousness of the bad habits of the old society. The task of our writers is to research, embody, describe, and affirm the new reality. It is necessary to study how to see the outbreak of future sparks and flames from the smoking ashes of the garbage of corruption."

Guest: Good. Let us not only "see" but also promote "the outbreak of future sparks and flames".

## STRUGGLE WITHIN LITERARY CIRCLE IN WUHAN DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [Contend] in Chinese No 9 Sep 82 pp 32-33

[Article by Yu Mu [0151 3668], "A Struggle Within the Literary Circle of Wuhan"]

[Text] Recently, the writers of Hubei, like those everywhere in the country, are going down to the basic levels to "plunge themselves in life;" nevertheless, many of them are carrying a heavy ideological burden along with them, because in no province have so many authors been publicly criticized by name as in Hubei; moreover, some have been criticized without much reason.

### Many of Wuhan's Writers Were Criticized

In Hubei during the previous phase of "anti-liberalism," nearly ten famous writers were criticized, including Wuhan's military writer Bai Hua [4101 2901], Zhang Zuwei [1728 4371 1983], the author of "Ah, Elders and Brethren," a report exposing a case of injustice in Tianmen County; Xiong Zhaozheng [3574 0664 2398], the author of the poem "Please Raise a Forest of Hands, and Put an End to It;" and also a student-poet of Wuhan University Gao Falin [7559 0127 2651] who was active in people's publications activities that year. Their works had all won national prizes, and were influential in Hubei, and throughout the country. The Hubei Province Committee took great exception to some receiving prizes, and resented the Central Committee's literary circle (for) (local authorities') not having asked their opinions.

Zhang Zuwei was accused of violating party discipline and taking upon himself the authorization to write about an internal affair and publish it openly. In 1980, while the writer Zhang Zuwei was participating in the Hubei Province Committee's Disciplinary Examination Committee and the Investigation Group organized by the Information Bureau, he carried out an investigation in connection with a case of injustice in Tian Men County, Hubei Province, and used the verified materials in his possession to write the work "Ah, Elders and Brethren," sent it to the provincial information bureau to be checked, verified, and printed; at that time there was no stipulation that the author couldn't openly publish this work. Afterwards, FANGCAO [FRAGRANT GRASS] (the literary monthly) typed the article but when the printing and binding were completed and it was awaiting distribution, relevant departments of the

province committee wanted to hold up publication, as a result this issue had to be redone, the manuscript returned and reprinted, and publication postponed. The editorial department of FRAGRANT GRASS considered that the author is a professional and has the freedom to deal with his own works. Therefore, the editorial department of FRAGRANT GRASS at the end of September sent out to relevant departments of the Central Committee and to periodicals in the various provinces and municipalities copies of the article along with a letter seeking support for it. As a result RENMIN RIBAO published the article, causing a sensation throughout the country. This originally was an old account implicating many people and affairs, but it is unfair that Zhang Zuwei alone should have to bear the responsibility for his "liberalism."

#### Some Are Very Pleased, While Others Are Sad

While a good many authors are depressed about being criticized and suppressed, some people are very pleased indeed; acquiring honors and winning prizes, gaining official posts and rising in rank. Recently, the Wuhan military author Chen Lide [7115 4539 1795] was set up as an advanced individual model soldier engaged in building socialist spiritual civilization, and the Air Force at Wuhan gave him a Class II Merit Citation, two Class III Merit Citations, and an increase in rank. Many writers were not pleased about this.

Chen Lide was the native of Tianmen County described in Zhang Zuwei's article, who entered the Army in 1949, in 1950 began his creative writing activities, joined the party in 1954, when demobilized in 1970 went to work in Tianmen County's No 2 Machinery Plant; in 1971 he was transferred to the Wuhan Military Area Air Force Political Branch to do creative writing, and now is the assistant group leader of that political section's creative writing group.

On the basis of what works had he received awards and official rank? Actually, they were all works that did not dare convey reality, works eulogizing the virtues and achievements of the earlier generation of revolutionaries. Therefore, his writings were looked upon very highly by the leaders. Of course, the film script "Ji Hong Sings" published in the September issue of FILM LITERATURE is acknowledged as a good work, however his recent work "Wedding on the Execution Ground" and "Aunt Huang Ying," published in 1962 and recently made into a film, were both criticized and some newspapers and periodicals blamed them for being "morally corrupt," "bringing romance to the execution ground," and "stuffing the audience's heads with low-class taste."

#### It Isn't That Enemies Can Not Get Together

Zhang Zuwei was under the impression that the people had pleaded on his behalf, and so he became famous, while Chen Lide took it upon himself as his duty to eulogize the virtues and achievements of earlier people, and yet it was not a case of enemies not meeting together, not long afterwards the two of them met at the First National Conference on Creative Writing with Military Themes convened jointly by the Chinese Authors' Association and the

Cultural Branch of the General Political Branch of the Liberation Army. Based on their respective positions, and the topical content of their creative work, Chen Lide was the natural representative. Zhang Zuwei was the outsider, and did not seem relevant. However, due to the fact that a good many authors outside the military applied to participate in the conference, many people were allowed to participate, and this gave rise, in the course of the meeting, to contradictions between military and non-military writers.

During the speech making at the conference, nothing happened, but during the group discussion period, conflict arose. During the group discussion, Chen Lide posed two questions, the first was: "Why is it that now one cannot propose the idea of literature in the service of proletarian politics?"; the second was: "Why has an author like Zuwei mistakenly come to this conference?"

In response to the first question, representatives from both within and outside the military vied with each other to strike back, saying that very notion was in the spirit of the Third Plenum, that it was definitely not the case that such a proposition was not allowed, rather, it was more appropriate to speak in terms of "literature in the service of the people, and in the service of socialism."

As for the second question, the response was particularly sensitive and forceful, with representatives from outside the military expressing in large numbers their wish to withdraw from the conference midway through. Later the conference's leaders had to do all they could to dissuade them from withdrawing.

In the same manner, the military author (of course, we are not talking about Bai Hua) that is, the military poet Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], originally from Hubei and now in Peking, also provoked the anger of the Hubei Province Committee, and was criticized in absentia.

Hubei's criticism of Ye Wenfu mainly stressed two points, the first was that Ye Wenfu, while passing through Wuhan on his way to visit relatives in his hometown of Puqi, Hubei, had spread about "among some units and comrades," "a good many extremely erroneous opinions" (for these opinions, please see ZHENG MING No 52, p 24). The second was their criticism of Ye Wenfu's poem "Old Palace, I Hate You," which obliquely attacked comrade Mao Zedong." This poem was not even mentioned by name in a criticism of Ye intended for national consumption, the reason Hubei later singled it out for criticism is that it had been published in a Hubei periodical. The No 12 issue of CHANGJIANG WENYI (Yangtze Literature) published Ye Wenfu's poem "Ah, I Have Been Born,"...(Three Additional Poems) sub-title of which was "--choking down this long time suffering, and finally offering this eulogy to the martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], "the three additional poems of which included the "Old Palace, I Hate You" and the famous "Meditation Under the Pomegranate Tree." The writing of these poems provoked strong feelings, and moved people considerably, gaining large numbers of young readers.

## The Practice of Usurping Reason by the Use of Strong Words Can Not Serve the People

The poem "Please Raise a Forest of Hands, and Put an End To It" by the poet Xiong Zhaozheng of Ying Shan County, Hubei was awarded a national prize as an excellent new poem by a middle-aged or young poet, clearly demonstrating the poem's social effect. However, the Hubei Province Committee took exception to this, insisting that the author engage in two sessions of self-criticism, acknowledging that he "himself had been influenced by bourgeois liberalist ideology" and that "therefore, the work's social effect is not good," though one really does not know on what basis such statements were made. They also criticized Xiong Zhaozheng for having said that those who criticized him were "Xiang Zhuang doing the sword dance" (people acting from hidden motives). In reality, they themselves were playing the role of a "Xiang Zhuang," in name criticizing Xiong Zhaozheng, but in essence criticizing the entire procedure of awarding national prizes to new poems, with the further intention of bringing disfavor upon the literary circle of the capital.

Their objective was manifested most clearly in their words and actions in criticizing Gao Falin. The poem "Reply" by a (already graduated) student of the Chinese Department of Wuhan University Gao Falin won a prize at the same time as the poem "Put an End To It" by Xiong Zhaozheng. Their criticism of him was that he, "after returning from Peking, spread about Wuhan University's Chinese Department a good many extremely erroneous opinions he had heard at the award conference, producing a bad influence among the young students." From this it can be seen that some people on the Hubei Province Committee are in complete disapproval of the national activities of awarding prizes to new poems.

The above facts indicate clearly that some people are extremely opposed to allowing literature to govern by doing nothing that goes against nature and, relying on these people to lead literature, it is unlikely that Hubei's literature will produce any great breakthroughs.

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